UN CHRONICLE

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United Nations Year for Tolerance

THE GOLDEN RULE by NORMAN ROCKWELL

OUR COVER

Do unto others . . .

Stating its conviction that tolerance—the recognition and appreciation of others, th ability to live together with and listen to others—is "the sound foundation of an civil society and of peace", the General Assembly has proclaimed 1995 as the Unite Nations Year for Tolerance. During its 50-year existence, the world body has again anc again expressed its concern over obstacles to attaining that noble goal—including racism, genocide, apartheid and, most recently, the hatred expressed through violent ethnic conflicts. The faces on our cover—young, old, man, woman, child, from every continent and many cultures—were created by the late American artist Norman Rockwell in a work entitled "*The Golden Rule*". This human collage portrays, in the words of former UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, "essential qualities of integrity and compassion, of common decency and honesty". Ten years ago, the United States presented the Rockwell work to the UN in the form of a colourful mosaic, which now dominates a third floor corridor of the Headquarters building in New York.

On 21 February 1995, in launching the Year, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that the importance of tolerance as an objective, as a concept, "has been made tragically clear in recent years. These are times of vast technological advance, political transformation and economic uncertainty. Many of the world's citizens have sought security from these changes by identifying with increasingly narrow and exclusive ethnic, religious or racial groupings. All too often, strife and suffering have followed. Tolerance does not mean accepting brutality posing as nationalism or ignoring abuses against human rights if they assume the cloak of religion. Rather, tolerance is respect for diversity through recognition of our common humanity."

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October through December 1994

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Following are excerpts from statements by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali made between 1 October and 31 December 1994.

UN Photo 188926

Meeting the press after a Security Council briefing on 12 December.

UN Day message . . .

United Nations Day has become a universally recognized time for celebration and reflection on the state of the world. Today we all live in a global context. Societies, which once felt able to stand alone, now see themselves interlocked with others. The great goals of peace, development and democracy increasingly are understood to require greater multilateral effort. Without peace, nothing is possible. Without development, societies cannot look forward to the future. Without democracy, progress will not rest securely on a foundation of popular participation and commitment. This year, as we prepare for the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, let us recall the opening words of the Charter: "We the Peoples of the United Nations . . .". We—all of us—are the United Nations. The United Nations is now, and increasingly will be, what we choose to make of it. Let us take up the challenge of the next 50 years. It is in our power to use the United Nations as a force for fundamental transformation to a world of peace and enduring prosperity.

On United Nations Day, New York, 24 October

Rights of women . . .

The most far-reaching revolution of our time is the revolution of the rights of women. Historians have pointed out that those who live in the midst of revolution often fail to realize the extent of the change taking place. That is not true of this revolution. The women's revolution is making an undeniable and immediate impact. No dimension of modern life—social, political, economic, intellectual, cultural or security-related—can avoid an encounter with this movement of change. And increasingly it is understood that the situation of women is a key to the solution of many of the world's most pressing problems. The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women will convene in Beijing in September 1995—at a high point in the celebration of the United Nations first half-century. There is no better way to open the second half-century of the United Nations than by working for equality, development and security for women by the opening of the twenty-first century. Success in these tasks means progress for everyone: young and old; men, women and children.

To the International Women's Forum, New York, 6 October

SECRETARY-GENERAL

Excessive fragmentation not needed . . .

Today we are faced with a variety of ethnic and national groups, each seeking to be recognized, each knocking at the door of statehood and full independence. But the monolithic systems of the cold war must not be followed by the excessive fragmentation of the period of transition. If this trend were to continue, there would soon be many more States at the General Assembly. The strained system of the United Nations would be paralyzed by the excessive and rapid growth of its Members. The principles of the United Nations . . . must be defended. The alternative is an explosion of the international system. But those principles cannot be upheld by force. The international community is a community of free States. The best defence against the fragmentation of States is sustainable development and the spread of democracy. Sustainable development means that societies are given the means to grow in the long term, that improvements in human welfare are not achieved at the expense of the global environment, and that we prepare for our children, a world fit to live in. It is through development that the United Nations attends to the roots of conflict. Through development, the United Nations works to lay enduring foundations for peace and for progress.

To the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, Chisinau, 4 November

Minorities: A burning issue . . .

The world in which we live and act today must devise rules which take into account not only the wishes of political entities, that is to say States, but also the behaviour of economic agents and the aspirations of people active in the social and cultural spheres.

The question of national minorities is one of the most sensitive issues. This problem can be summed up by an instructive comparison of two figures: in the whole world today there are almost 190 States, 184 of them Members of the United Nations, while there are more than 5,000 identifiable minorities. This is an issue of burning urgency in today's Europe. For it is clear that the Europe which up to now had thought about its future essentially in economic terms must henceforth ask itself questions about its political stability and social cohesion. The collapse of the Berlin wall, the ending of the cold war, and the liberation of the peoples of central and eastern Europe have generated considerable optimism. But we now know that the road will be longer and harder than we thought. The removal of East-West confrontation from the continent of Europe has revived long-hidden antagonisms, threats and tensions. And we now have to take account of situations born of an ancient and indelible history that we have long claimed to have forgotten or wished to forget.

To the Fourteenth Regional Conference of European United Nations Associations, Geneva, 7 November

Challenge of African development . . .

African development is perhaps the single greatest challenge facing the international community. Increasingly the world community is beginning to recognize the vital need to support Africa's efforts for stability, social progress and the eradication of hunger and disease. Industry has an essential role in economic and social development. Industrial growth will be a key component of progress in Africa. The needs are there in abundance. But so are the natural and human resources. What is required of us is a full commitment of all the development partners to greater and special efforts. The United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s provides the framework within which the United Nations system will support economic and social progress in Africa in the years to come.

On the occasion of Africa Industrialization Day, New York, 18 November

Humanity's common language . . .

We have a long way to go before this new diplomacy of democracy and human rights can come into being. But despite the difficulties caused by the ins-and-outs of everyday politics, short-term delays or temporary setbacks, I remain fundamentally convinced that we are headed in the right direction. Just as human rights are universal, so the democratic blueprint, too, is applicable to all cultures. Yes, universality is inherent in human rights. The Charter of the United Nations is quite clear on this point, and I have myself stated that human rights form humanity's common language. The same is true of democracy. It, too, is the political expression of our common heritage. For it must be understood that democracy is not a model to be copied from certain States, but rather, an objective that all peoples should strive to attain. Like human rights, democracy has a universal dimension!

To the Italian Senate, Rome, 22 November

Freedom and potential . . .

On this International Day of Disabled Persons, we focus on the freedom and potential of persons with disabilities. Since the 1970's, the United Nations has been working to bring this focus to the international community. Persons with disabilities challenge the world community to grow—to build emotional, intellectual and practical bases for a society which advances the freedoms, addresses the needs and facilitates the contributions of all peoples. On this International Day of Disabled Persons, let us accept their challenge with enthusiasm. Let us be inspired by their courage. Let us strengthen our commitment to building a society for all.

On the occasion of International Day of Disabled Persons, New York, 3 December

A 'time of hope' begins

Return of Aristide hailed after three-year exile

In welcoming the return to Haiti of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide—in exile since the September 1991 military coup—the Security Council on 15 October expressed confidence that Haitians could now "begin to rebuild their country with dignity and consolidate democracy in a spirit of national reconciliation". As it adopted resolution 948 (1994), by 14 votes to none, with one abstention (Brazil), the Council also welcomed, with the convening of the Haitian Parliament and the departure of the military leadership, that implementation of the 3 July 1993 Governors Island Agreement, the 16 July 1993 New York Pact, and the UN objectives was "well under way".

The fact that sanctions against Haiti were to be lifted "at 0001 a.m. EST on the day after the return to Haiti" of President Aristide, as stipulated in Council resolution 944 (1994), was also hailed.

In expressing support for the dispatch of the advance team of the UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), the Council recognized the efforts of the United States-led Multinational Force in Haiti (MNF), deployed since 19 September 1994, in creating the "conditions necessary for the return of democracy to the people of Haiti". It also noted that under resolution 940 (1994), UNMIH would replace the MNF "when the Security Council determines that a secure and stable environment has been established".

A 'new era'

With the "long-awaited return" of President Aristide and the resumption of the democratic process in Haiti, a "new era has begun for the Haitian people". Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated on 15 October. "At this time of hope", the UN stood ready to help them meet the challenges of the future, as they are now able to rebuild their country on the "solid foundations of reconciliation, freedom and human rights", he said.

Reuters/Bettmann Photo

Haitians cheering the return of President Aristide outside the National Palace.

Bettmann Photo

President Aristide reaching out to the Haitian people after his three-year exile.

On 10 October, the Secretary-General had expressed "satisfaction at the news of resignation" of Lieutenant-General Raoul Cédras as Commander of the Haitian Armed Forces and the transfer of command to Major-General Jean-Claude Duperval. Two other military leaders—Brigadier-General Philippe Biamby and Colonel Michel François—were reported to have already submitted their resignations.

In that regard, the Secretary-General on 13 October said he "very much appreciates" the decision of President Ernesto Pérez Balladares of Panama to give asylum to the former military leaders. "In facilitating their departure from Haiti, Panama is rendering a valuable service to the efforts under way" to implement Council resolution 940 (1994), he stated.

While on a 15 November visit to Haiti, Mr. Boutros-Ghali congratulated President Aristide for "having managed to inspire a strong wave of national reconciliation" in the country since his return. Dialogue and reconciliation were the "leavening agents that will hasten a return to political stability and the institution of a lasting democracy", he stressed.

The joint UN/Organization of American States (OAS) International Civilian Mission to Haiti (MICIVIH) and UNMIH were "working wholeheartedly for democracy". They were to help the Haitian people "break the cycle of violence . . . regain their dignity, take charge of their destiny again", the Secretary-General stated.

Resolution 964: Increase authorized

A progressive strengthening of the advance team of UNMIH up to 500 personnel, "in order to further facilitate planning of UNMIH, identification of conditions required for the transition from MNF to UNMIH and preparation for the actual transition", was authorized by the Security Council on 29 November.

In adopting resolution 964 (1994) by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (Brazil, Russian Federation), the Council also authorized the Secretary-General to "make good offices available" to assist the Haitian Government in sustaining a secure and stable environment and protecting international personnel and key installations, the professionalization of the Armed Forces and creation of a separate police force, as stipulated by resolution 940 (1994).

In recommending the increase of the UNMIH advance team, which totalled 51 military, police and administrative personnel by 21 November, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/1994/1322)* "no acts of intimidation or violence" against the UN or other international presence.

On 18 October, he had informed *(S/1994/1180)* the Council that the advance team was "fully operational", with six teams of two military observers each deployed throughout Haiti, "reporting as of 24 September 1994 to United Nations Headquarters".

HAITI

Multinational force

A total of 20,345 weapons, including 5,853 grenades and 1,736 machine-guns, had either been seized or brought in weapons control programmes since the beginning of the MNF, and "clear progress continued on the establishment of the Haitian Interim Public Security Force", the MNF reported *(S/1995/15)* on 9 January 1995.

Since 26 September, the United States had submitted eight reports to the Council on the MNF activities, in accordance with resolution 940 (1994).

With the exception of some incidents—two involving buses running through civilian crowds; an "armed robbery against three American Embassy employees, two of whom were killed, and the death of the Deputy Mayor of Cap-Haïtien"; and a "brief eruption of violence" on 26 December—the situation in the country had evolved from "relatively quiet" with some incidents of violence on 10 October, to one of "continued security and stability" on 9 January.

By 8 January, the MNF strength had been reduced to 7,412 troops and 717 international police monitors from its peak of 21,000 in October.

Resolution 49/27: Progress commended

The General Assembly on 5 December paid tribute to the efforts of President Aristide and his Government to "lead the country out of the crisis and return it to the community of nations".

In adopting resolution 49/27 without a vote, the Assembly also commended the "progress of the preparations for the early parliamentary and municipal elections in accordance with the Constitution of Haiti, as a further stage in the strengthening of democracy" there.

The international community was urged to increase its technical, economic and financial cooperation with Haiti in support of its economic and social development efforts and in order to "strengthen Haitian institutions responsible for dispensing justice and guaranteeing democracy, respect for human rights, political stability and economic development".

On 23 December, the Assembly urged the Haitian authorities to "continue to promote full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms", in conformity with the relevant international covenants.

As it adopted resolution 49/201 without a vote, the Assembly also asked the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to "ensure financial and human resources for the urgent establishment", in conjunction with the MICIVIH, of a "special programme of assistance to the Government and people of Haiti in their efforts to ensure the observance of human rights".

A $77-million appeal

An appeal for some $77 million to facilitate the transition from humanitarian assistance to reconstruction and development in Haiti was launched on 6 December.

Covering a six-month period, the appeal differed from traditional consolidated inter-agency appeals in that it sought to "alleviate the suffering of the poorest segments of society, while helping to revive vital government capacity". It also stressed the "overriding importance of socio-economic revival for political stability in the country".

Following the 13 November tropical storm "Gordon" that had caused more than 400 deaths in Haiti—affecting 55,000 families of which 15,000 had been left without shelter— the UN agencies in the country had "pooled their special emergency resources" to collect some $300,000 to aid victims, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1994/1322)* on 21 November.

Reuters/Bettmann Photo

Raising the flag after the triumphant return.

Human rights: 'Significant improvement'

Since MICIVIH had resumed its activities on 26 October, there had been a "significant improvement" in the human rights situation in Haiti, particularly in the areas where the multinational forces were establishing a "climate of freedom and security", the Secretary-General reported *(A/49/689)* on 23 November.

The situation in the rural areas, however, was "still disturbing", he said. There were reports that section chiefs, "attachés" and members of the armed forces had "continued to repress the population in certain regions, especially supporters of the presence of the multinational forces and of the President's return". The population in general "felt strongly that human rights violations should not remain unpunished", the Secretary-General noted.

On 14 October, Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur Marco Tulio Bruni Celli of Venezuela had reported that the human rights situation in Haiti "continued to be a cause of serious concern", and was "rendered even more dramatic" by the fact that the perpetrators committed violations "with total impunity".

However, Council resolution 940 (1994) had been perceived as the "point of departure of a new concept of political relations between the international community and States as far as the international protection of human rights is concerned", he stated in his report *(A/49/513)*. ■

ONUSAL mandate extended to April 1995

In reaffirming the UN commitment to "verify full implementation" of the 16 January 1992 Peace Accords in El Salvador, the Security Council on 23 November extended the mandate of the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) "for one final period until 30 April 1995".

The Council acted by unanimously adopting resolution 961 (1994), in which it also expressed concern that "important elements" of the Accords between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para Liberación Nacional (FMLN) remained "only partially implemented".

Those elements related to: demobilization of the National Police; transfer of lands; reintegration of ex-combatants; problems of human settlements; judicial and electoral reforms; and the March 1993 recommendations of the Commission on the Truth.

The Council urged the Government and the FMLN to "redouble their efforts to comply with the Agreement on a timetable for the implementation of the most important agreements pending", and reaffirmed the importance of an "appropriate follow-up" to the findings of the Joint Group for the Investigation of Politically Motivated Illegal Armed Groups. All concerned were called upon to "cooperate fully" with the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Enrique ter Horst of Venezuela, and ONUSAL.

On 31 October, in recommending a further ONUSAL extension—"albeit at much reduced strength not exceeding a total of 100 international staff"—the Secretary-General stressed that the UN undertaking in El Salvador had been "innovative in a variety of ways".

"The Organization played a central role in the negotiation of the peace accords from start to finish and has overseen a multidimensional peace-keeping and peace-building operation in whose design it played a key part. It remains engaged in the transition from peace-keeping to post-conflict peace-building", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated *(S/1994/1212)*.

Progress in the transition to democracy could be seen in the "clearly visible change" in El Salvador's political and social climate, the Director of ONUSAL's Human Rights Division reported *(A/49/585-S/1994/1220)* on 31 October.

A "progressive decline in the number of complaints" received by ONUSAL—58 in September against 163 in September 1993—was a "useful indicator of the overall gradual improvement in the human rights situation", stated the report covering the period from 1 July to 30 September.

Among remaining concerns were: the continued existence of organized crime networks; delay in enacting certain legal reforms; and problems in the penitentiary system.

The Secretary-General on 29 November, in extending his condolences to the family of Archbishop Arturo Rivera i Damas of San Salvador who had passed away, said that Monsignor Rivera had been a "courageous and wise church leader who played an influential role in fighting violence in his country, and in promoting a negotiated solution to the decade-long armed conflict". ■

Stagnation in Guatemalan talks reported

A stagnation of the negotiating process in Guatemala in the latter half of 1994 was a "cause for concern", as it meant a "prolongation of the long armed confrontation" in that country, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated on 28 December.

The last round of talks, which had started at the end of October, between the Government of Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG) had "not yet resulted in the expected agreement on identity and rights of the indigenous people", he reported *(A/49/825-S/1994/1453)*.

"It is now clear that the timeframe that the parties decided upon in the Framework Agreement and the Agreement on a Timetable for the Negotiation of a Firm and Lasting Peace" of 10 January and 29 March 1994, respectively, "will have to be revised", the Secretary-General observed.

That setback undermined "national as well as international confidence in the peace negotiations", and compromised the effectiveness of the Mission for the Verification of Human Rights and of Compliance with the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights (MINUGUA), established on 19 September by General Assembly resolution 48/267 and officially inaugurated in Guatemala City on 21 November.

On 19 December, the Assembly, in supporting the decision of the Central American Presidents to "declare Central America a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development", had called upon those concerned to "advance speedily in the Guatemalan peace process in order to achieve, as close as possible to the 31 December deadline, agreement on a firm and lasting peace in keeping with the commitments made in the Framework Agreement" *(49/137)*.

'A dream becomes a reality'

Sea Law Convention enters into force

The entry into force of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea has turned the dream of a comprehensive law for the oceans into reality and was one of the greatest achievements of this century, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the first meeting of the Assembly of the International Seabed Authority, held on 16 November in Kingston, Jamaica. The Convention came into force that same day, one year after the deposit of the 60th instrument of ratification.

It obtained the 60 ratifications or accessions required for its entry into force with the ratification by Guyana on 16 November 1993. By 31 January 1995, it had been ratified, acceded or succeeded to by 72 States.

The Convention, completed in 1982 after 15 years of negotiation and drafting, demonstrated what could be achieved when mutual support and respect were the basis for relations among nations, the Secretary-General added. Its mechanisms for dispute resolution were an important contribution to preventing conflict and promoting international peace and security, he went on. By providing a mechanism for addressing all aspects of the uses of the sea and its resources, the Convention was also an important asset for global development.

The Convention establishes a new and more equitable relationship among States, and distinct zones of sovereignty and jurisdiction for coastal States. It formulates rules for the high seas and lays down rights and duties of States with respect to navigation. It provides for the protection of the marine environment, and the conduct of marine research.

The Convention also provides a legal framework for the development of marine resources. It creates a new regime for deep seabed mining and addresses concerns relating to the limits of the continental shelf. It recognizes the rights and jurisdiction of States over resources, as well as the duties and obligations of States seeking to exploit those resources.

The three-day Kingston meeting, mainly commemorative, was convened in accordance with Convention provisions. The Assembly decided to reconvene its first session from 27 February until 17 March 1995, when it is expected to deal with such substantive matters as election of members of the Council of the Authority, its Secretary-General and members of other major organs.

> "The new instrument can help humanity to realize the enormous potential for our common inheritance"

During the meeting, speakers from both developed and developing countries praised the balance struck in the Convention between the rights and obligations of coastal and other States with respect to the use of the oceans. They also noted that the Convention had exercised a profound impact on State practice in such areas as territorial sea limits, navigation, jurisdiction over resources within the exclusive economic zone and dispute settlement, even before its entry into force.

The Convention provides a legal framework and detailed rules to govern the use of the world's oceans and their resources. It enshrines the principle that the resources of the deep seabed beyond national jurisdiction are the "common heritage of mankind". Part XI of the Convention defined that principle, created the Authority to oversee the exploitation of those resources, and elaborated a set of provisions to govern commercial deep seabed mining.

Some provisions, however, proved to be an obstacle to universal participation in the Convention, when a number of industrialized countries objected to their mandatory and regulatory approach to deep seabed mining.

The Agreement relating to the implementation of Part XI, which was adopted by the General Assembly on 28 July, removed the final obstacle to broader participation in the treaty. It addressed particular seabed mining provisions, replacing them with general principles geared more towards the emerging global consensus around market-oriented economic policies. The Agreement and Part XI are to be applied together. In case of a conflict between the two, the provisions of the Agreement would prevail.

On 7 December, the General Assembly called on all States that had not done so to become parties to the Convention and the Agreement. The Assembly reaffirmed the unified character of the Convention and called on all States to harmonize their national legislation with, and ensure

consistent application of the Convention's provisions.

The Assembly, in adopting resolution 49/28 by 130 to one (Turkey), with 7 abstentions, is to undertake an annual review and evaluation of the implementation of the Convention. To support this process, the Secretary-General was asked to prepare a comprehensive annual report on all relevant developments and to strengthen systems for providing information and advice to States and international organizations. In introducing the resolution, Satya N. Nandan of Fiji, former Under-Secretary-General for Ocean Affairs and the Law of the Sea, said the legal regime established by the Convention reflected the aspirations of all members of the international community. The Convention had already become a cornerstone for the conduct of relations among States on maritime issues.

The Secretary-General, in his 16 November report to the Assembly *(A/49/631 and Corr.1)*, stated that the Convention was being increasingly recognized as providing the mechanism for addressing all ocean-related issues and as the foundation upon which international cooperation could be built.

The entry into force of the Convention and the adoption of the Agreement entailed new activities, such as meetings of States Parties to the Convention to elect members of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea and of the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf, and preparations for administering and supporting the conciliation and arbitration procedures for settlement of disputes.

An elaborate system of dispute settlement, including compulsory procedures entailing binding decisions, had come into operation with the Convention's entry into force. The central institution to be set up for dispute settlement was the International Tribunal, which was to be established within six months of the Convention's entry into force.

The States Parties to the Convention decided on 21 November to defer the first election of the judges of the International Tribunal until August 1996.

A new vision, a new era

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea demonstrates how international law can help humanity to create both a new vision of international relations, and a new reality. The Convention is a particularly important asset for development. From navigation and overflights, to resource exploration and exploitation, to conversation and pollution, to fishing and shipping—the Convention on the Law of the Sea provides a focal point for international action in the service of development. It provides a mechanism for addressing all aspects of the use of the sea and its resources.

The Convention on the Law of the Sea must also be seen, and appreciated, in a wider context. For the first time in 50 years, there is now a genuine opportunity for international cooperation to make respect for the principles of international law a meaningful reality. The broader human struggle to ensure that relations between nations, and that relations within nations are governed by the rule of law, continues. The Law of the Sea is an important international symbol of this ongoing endeavour. It is a repudiation of the pursuit of progress through a competition for spoils. It is a rejection of the notion that economic might can transcend fundamental national rights. It is a strong disavowal of the tactics of gunboat development. By ratifying the Law of the Sea Convention, the international community affirms that rules will regulate the conduct of nations. It proclaims that equity is a right of the small, as well as the powerful. It ensures that agreed principles will provide the framework for the future development of our planet. Today, we inaugurate a new era. The achievement we celebrate can provide the international community with a new impetus and a new opportunity. It can help humanity to realize the enormous potential of our common inheritance.

—Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 16 November 1994

UN Photo 185606

Satya Nandan of Fiji on 7 December said the Convention was a cornerstone for international relations.

The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea: A *Chronology*

The First UN Conference on the Law of the Sea was held at Geneva in 1958 and resulted in the adoption of four conventions: on the high seas; on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone; on the continental shelf; and on fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas. Those conventions were based on drafts prepared by the International Law Commission.

A great achievement

The Second UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, also held at Geneva in 1960, made unsuccessful attempts to reach agreement on the breadth of the territorial sea and on fishing zones.

In response to growing concern over the possible militarization of the seabed and amid calls for the designation of the resources of the deep seabed as the common heritage of mankind, the General Assembly established in 1967 an ad hoc committee.

Having considered the ad hoc committee's initial report, the Assembly in 1968 established the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. The Committee began work in 1969 on a statement of legal principles to govern the uses of the seabed and its resources.

Unanimous adoption of 1970 Declaration

In 1970, the General Assembly in 1970 unanimously adopted the Committee's Declaration of Principles, which stated that "the seabed and ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction . . . as well as the resources of the area are the common heritage of mankind", to be reserved for peaceful purposes, not subject to national appropriation and not to be explored or exploited, except in accordance with an international regime to be established.

The Assembly, recognizing that the problems of ocean space were interrelated and needed to be considered as a whole, also decided to convene a new conference to prepare a single, comprehensive treaty.

This new treaty was to encompass all aspects of the establishment of a regime and machinery for the international seabed area, as well as such issues as the regimes of the high seas, the continental shelf and territorial sea (including the question of limits), fishing rights, preservation of the marine environment, scientific research, and access to the sea by land-locked States.

The Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea opened with a brief organizational session in 1973.

At its second session (Caracas, Venezuela, 1974) the Conference endorsed the Seabed Committee's recommendation that it work on a new law of the sea treaty as a "package deal", with no one article or section to be approved before all the others were in place. This reflected not only the interdependence of all the issues involved, but also the need to reach a delicate balance of compromises if the final document was to prove viable.

The first informal text of a comprehensive law was prepared as a basis for negotiation in 1975. Over the next seven years, in Conference committees and in special negotiating and working groups, the text underwent several major revisions.

The final text of the new convention was approved by the Conference on 30 April 1982, by a vote of 130 to 4, with 17 abstentions. When it was opened for signature at Montego Bay, Jamaica, on 10 December 1982, the new UN Convention on the Law of the Sea was signed by 117 States and two other entities, representing the largest number of signatures ever affixed to a treaty on its first day.

By the end of the period of signature, on 9 December 1984, the Convention had been signed by 159 States and several other entities—the UN Council for Namibia on behalf of Namibia, the 12-nation European Economic Community, the Cook Islands and Niue.

What the Convention covers

The Convention covers almost all ocean space and its uses, including navigation and overflight, resource exploration and exploitation, conservation and pollution, fishing and shipping.

Its 320 articles and nine annexes constitute a guide for behaviour by States in the world's oceans, defining maritime zones, laying down rules for drawing sea boundaries, assigning legal rights, duties and responsibilities to States, and providing machinery for the settlement of disputes.

Some of the Convention's key features are:

- Coastal States would exercise sovereignty over their territorial sea up to 12 nautical miles in breadth, but foreign vessels would be allowed peaceful "innocent passage" through those waters;
- Ships and aircraft of all countries would be allowed "transit passage" through straits used for international navigation; States alongside the straits would be able to regulate navigational and other aspects of passage;
- Archipelagic States, made up of a group or groups of closely related islands and interconnecting waters, would have sovereignty over a sea area enclosed by straight lines drawn between the outermost points of the islands; all other States would enjoy the right of passage through designated sea lanes;
- Coastal States would have sovereign rights in the 200-nautical mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ) with respect to natural resources and certain economic activities, and would also exercise jurisdiction over marine science research and environmental protection; all other States would have freedom of navigation and overflight in the zone, as well as freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines;
- Land-locked and geographically disadvantages States would have the opportunity to participate in exploiting part of the zone's fisheries on an equitable basis when the coastal State could not harvest them all itself; highly migratory species of fish and marine mammals would be accorded special protection;
- Coastal States would have sovereign rights over the continental shelf (the national area of the seabed) for its exploration and exploitation; the shelf would extend at least 200 nautical miles from the shore, and more under specified circumstances;
- Coastal States would share with the international community part of the revenue they would derive from

exploiting resources from any part of their shelf beyond 200 miles; a Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf would make recommendations to States on matters related to the Shelf's outer boundaries when it extends beyond 200 nautical miles; (The establishment and servicing of the Commission has been entrusted to the Secretary-General.)

- All States would enjoy the traditional freedoms of navigation, overflight, scientific research and fishing on the high seas; they would be obliged to adopt, or cooperate with other States in adopting, measures to manage and conserve living resources;
- The territorial sea, EEZ and continental shelf of islands would be determined in accordance with rules applicable to land territory, but rocks which could not sustain human habitation or economic life of their own would have no economic zone or continental shelf;
- States bordering enclosed or semi-enclosed seas would be expected to cooperate in managing living resources and environmental and research policies and activities;
- Land-locked States would have the right of access to and from the sea and would enjoy freedom of transit through the territory of transit States;
- States would be bound to prevent and control marine pollution and would be liable for damage caused by violation of their international obligations to combat such pollution;
- All marine scientific research in the EEZ and on the continental shelf would be subject to the consent of the coastal State, but they would in most cases be obliged to grant consent to other States when the research was to be conducted for peaceful purposes and fulfilled specific criteria;
- States would be bound to promote the development and transfer of marine technology "on fair and reasonable terms and conditions", with proper regard for all legitimate interests;
- States would be obliged to settle by peaceful means their disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the convention;
- Disputes could be submitted to an International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea to be established under the Convention, to the International Court of Justice or to arbitration. Conciliation would also be available and, in certain circumstances, submission to it would be compulsory. The Tribunal would have exclusive jurisdiction over disputes concerning deep-seabed mining.

Issue of deep-seabed mining

Under the provisions of the Convention, all exploring and exploiting activities in the international seabed Area would be under the control of the International Seabed Authority: the Authority would be authorized to conduct its own mining operations through its operating arm, the Enterprise, and also to contract with private and State ventures to give them mining rights in the Area, so that they could operate in parallel with the Authority.

The first generation of seabed prospectors, dubbed "pioneer investors" under resolution II of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, would have guarantees of production once mining was authorized.

Objections to the Convention's provisions in this area dealt mainly with the detailed procedures for production authorization from the deep seabed; complex financial rules of contracts; decision-making in the Council of the Seabed Authority; and mandatory transfer of technology.

To overcome these objections, the UN Secretary-General undertook informal consultations with all interested parties, lasting nearly four years. As a result, the General Assembly adopted on 28 July 1994 the Agreement Relating to the Implementation of Part XI.

The Agreement, in essence, removes the obstacles that had stood in the way of universal acceptance by substituting general provisions for the detailed procedures contained in the Convention and by leaving it to the Authority to determine at a future date the exact nature of the rules it would adopt with respect to the authorization of deep-seabed mining operations.

The Agreement also removed the obligation for mandatory transfer of technology and ensured the representation of certain countries, or groups of countries, in the Council, while giving those countries certain powers over decision-making.

Impact of the Convention

Even prior to its entry into force, the Convention had provided States with an indispensable foundation for their conduct in all aspects of ocean space, its uses and resources. States have consistently, through national and international legislation and related decision-making, asserted the authority of the Convention as the pre-eminent international legal instrument on all matters within its purview.

Thus far, its major impact has been on the establishment by 128 coastal States of a territorial sea not exceeding 12 nautical miles, and by 112 coastal States of EEZs or exclusive fishery zones not exceeding 200 nautical miles, all in conformity with the Convention's provisions.

Another area positively affected is the passage of ships in the territorial sea or through straits used for international navigation. The Convention's provisions relating to that matter have been incorporated into the legislation of many coastal States. Although designed primarily to reflect the law of the sea in time of peace, the Convention has influenced the law of naval warfare, in particular the rules of neutrality. The establishment of a territorial sea and precise rules for innocent, transit and archipelagic sea-lane passage have contributed to the clarification of the rights and duties of neutral States and those of belligerent forces. These rules have assumed some importance in the context of recent conflicts, particularly the Persian Gulf War. ■

Council endorses October elections
New parliament installed

The first ever multi-party elections in Mozambique, held from 27 to 29 October, were declared "free and fair" on 19 November by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Mozambique, Aldo Ajello. In a statement made following the announcement by the National Elections Commission (NEC) that Mozambique's incumbent President Joaquim Chissano had won the election, Mr. Ajello said the outcome of the presidential election and the composition of the new assembly "reflect the will of the Mozambican voters". The electoral process, he said, had been "characterized by the impartiality, the dedication and the high degree of professionalism" of the electoral authorities, and had been "distinguished by the strong commitment of the political players to let the principles of democracy prevail".

'Massive turnout'

On 2 November, while ballots were still being counted, the Special Representative had reported a "massive voter turnout nationwide", with more than 90 per cent of the registered electorate having voted in some provinces. Voting had been "characterized by a remarkable absence of violence, intimidation and coercion", and the UN had received "no information about any major irregularity, incident or breach" of the electoral law.

On 19 November, the NEC announced that President Chissano had received 2,633,740 votes, or 53.3 per cent of those cast. A total of 5,402,940 persons, representing 87.9 per cent of all registered voters, had participated in the presidential election.

Afonso Dhlakama, President of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (RENAMO), received 1,666,965 votes, or 33.7 per cent. The third largest number of votes—2.9 per cent—had been received by Wehia Ripua of the Partido Democrático de Moçambique.

In the legislative election, the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) took the largest share of

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UN Photo 187015P. Sudhakaran

Mozambicans endured many years of suffering and strife before democratic elections were organized. *Top*, suburban Maputo voters waiting in line; *bottom* , inside the polling station.

the votes with 2,115,793 (44.3 per cent), followed by RENAMO with 1,803,506 (37.8 per cent) and the União Democrática (UD) with 245,793 (5.2 per cent). Those three parties would have the following share of the new Parliament's 250 seats: FRELIMO—129, RENAMO—109 and UD—12. Twelve candidates had participated in the presidential election, and 14 political parties and coalitions in the legislative election.

Call for national reconciliation

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 19 November called on all Mozambicans to "begin the task of national reconciliation and to ensure that peace and stability prevail".

The Security Council on 21 November endorsed the results and called on the parties to "stand by their obligation to accept and fully abide" by them. In resolution 960 (1994), it urged continuing the process of national reconciliation based on "a system of multi-party democracy and the observance of democratic principles".

General Assembly President Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire, also on 21 November, declared that the Mozambican people could now "launch and win the only battle worth fighting, namely, the battle for the reconstruction and economic and social development of Mozambique and for the achievement of the well-being" of its people.

The Council, by resolution 957 (1994) of 15 November, had welcomed the elections and reiterated its intention to endorse the results should the UN declare them free and fair. It also extended the mandate of the UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) until the new Government would take office, but not later than 15 December, and authorized it to carry out and complete residual operations prior to withdrawal on or before 31 January 1995.

On 8 December, Mozambique's new Parliament was installed in Maputo and President Chissano was inaugurated the following day. Thus, the ONUMOZ mandate formally came to an end. ONUMOZ will continue to carry out residual functions until the end of January 1995.

Congratulating the people of Mozambique for their peaceful fulfilment of the goals of the General Peace Agreement, the Security Council on 14 December said it believed that "with the new governmental structure in place, the foundations have been laid to secure lasting peace, stability, national reconciliation and democracy".

The UN and Mozambique: *A Chronology*

1992

4 October: General Peace Agreement signed in Rome.

16 December: Security Council resolution 797 (1992) sets up ONUMOZ to verify the cease-fire, elections and police neutrality and offer humanitarian assistance, including de-mining.

1993

2 April: Secretary-General reports timetables "unrealistic", elections cannot be held in October 1993.

9 July: Council resolution 850 (1993) invites parties to agree to revise timetable.

23 August: Chissano and Dhlakama launch first direct talks.

30 August: Despite delays and difficulties, the parties have accepted October 1994 as election deadline, Secretary-General reports.

13 Sept.: Council resolution 863 (1993) urges parties to apply revised timetable, asks Secretary-General to examine proposal on police monitoring.

17-20 October: Secretary-General visits Mozambique, announces major agreements on assembly and demobilization troops.

30 November: Troop cantonment begins.

1994

12 January: Electoral Law, approved on 9 December, enters into force; dismantling paramilitary troops also commences.

28 January: Secretary-General reports serious problems remain, including demobilization and formation of national defence force. Recommends a large civilian police component.

23 February: Council resolution 898 (1994) authorizes police component, requests proposals for drawing down military personnel and a final timetable.

10 March: Demobilization starts. Training programme for new Mozambican Armed Forces (FADM) reported inaugurated.

28 April: "Major political conditions" for completion of Mission reported in place.

5 May: Council resolution 916 (1994) renews ONUMOZ at reduced strength for a final period until 15 November.

1 June: Voter registration begins.

7 July: Assembly and demobilization problems persist. Secretary-General wants process accelerated "dramatically".

7-13 August: Nine-member Security Council mission concludes that, despite difficulties, elections will be held on schedule.

26 August: Secretary-General reports cease-fire respected, assembly process concluded, demobilization almost complete, and progress in electoral process.

7 September: Council satisfied with pace of peace process; restates intention to endorse election results provided UN declares them free and fair.

27-29 October: Elections held.

19 November: National Elections Commission announces election results and the Special Representative declares them "free and fair". Security Council subsequently endorses results.

8 December: New Assembly installed.

9 December: President Chissano inaugurated; ONUMOZ mandate formally ends.

A 'remarkable achievement'

In his final report *(S/1994/1449)* of 23 December on ONUMOZ, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali declared that the "success of the operation represents an example of what can be achieved through the United Nations when all forces join together in one common endeavour towards a common goal".

ONUMOZ had verified and monitored the implementation of the General Peace Agreement signed in Rome on 4 October 1992, from the establishment of the initial implementation structures to the assembly of approximately 92,000 troops and the demobilization of 80,000 of them. All major aspects of the Agreement and the ONUMOZ mandate had been implemented, and the peace process had come to a successful conclusion. It was a "remarkable achievement", he concluded.

ONUMOZ had also coordinated and monitored humanitarian assistance operations, provided technical aid to and verified the entire electoral process, culminating in the October 1994 elections, the Secretary-General said. It had assisted in the formation of a new joint army comprising some 12,000 troops and, in accordance with Council resolution 898 (1994) of 23 February, monitored the activities of the Mozambican national police.

On the humanitarian assistance programmes, ONUMOZ had overseen the return of 4.3 million people to their original areas of residence and contributed significantly to the opening of previously inaccessible regions for the delivery of relief assistance.

Since its establishment in December 1992, the Operation had built more than 700 primary schools and 250 health facilities, with the help of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Another 310 health posts would be reconstructed under a project of the World Bank and the World Food Programme (WFP). Also, WFP and local authorities were working together to distribute seed.

The withdrawal of the ONUMOZ military component was proceeding according to plan, with the mission carrying out residual operations. More than 1,000 UN civilian police (CIVPOL) from 29 countries, together with the other ONUMOZ components, had monitored the electoral campaign, assisted in verifying the political rights of individuals, groups and political organizations, and served as electoral observers. These police observers were now being withdrawn.

Some issues, however, remained to be addressed, the Secretary-General reported, such as the existence of arms caches and land mines, and the continuing need to train and equip the new defence force and the national police.

"Mozambique's democratic institutions must also be strengthened and economic and social integration promoted in order to ensure that peace, democracy and development can be sustained", he stressed.

Appeal for calm

A week before the elections, on 21 October, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1994/1196)* that there had been no violation of the cease-fire for many months; voter registration had been concluded in an orderly manner, and the electoral campaign, now in its most active phase, was "generally progressing well".

There was, he warned, an "obvious risk that political temperatures will rise before and immediately after the poll", and particular caution and statesmanship would be required.

Also on 21 October, in a statement by its President, David Hannay of the United Kingdom, the Council declared that "necessary conditions" had been established for holding free and fair elections under effective national and international monitoring. It appealed for a "calm and responsible" approach to the campaign and voting.

On election eve, Mr. Dhlakama of RENAMO, alleging irregularities, announced his party's withdrawal from the polls, threatening the entire process. On 27 October, the first day of elections, the Security Council sent a message to Mr. Dhlakama, appealing to him to reconsider and asserting that appropriate procedures were in place through the NEC to address any concern RENAMO might have. The Council urged RENAMO "not to put this opportunity in peril".

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, in a statement that same day, stressed that elections must go ahead as planned and agreed, and that the parties must fully honour their commitments in that regard. Meanwhile, UN monitors reported a huge voter turnout and no major irregularities.

Following intensive efforts, Mr. Dhlakama on 28 October reversed his position and decided to vote, after guarantees of close monitoring by the international community. Elections were extended by a third day to allow for the high turnout and the resolution of difficulties before polls closed.

Also, the NEC, in close cooperation with ONUMOZ, undertook to ensure that the complaints about irregularities submitted by RENAMO and certain other opposition parties were investigated. Polls closed on the evening of 29 October.

On 2 November, Special Representative Ajello stated UN "observation would not support any possible claim of fraud or intimidation, or any other patterns of incidents that could have affected the credibility of the elections".

Emerging from war

The General Assembly on 20 December, while expressing satisfaction at the successful implementation of the Rome Agreement, stressed that Mozambique was now "emerging from a devastating war" and required substantial international assistance.

In resolution 49/21 D, it called on the international community to extend support to Mozambique to "establish lasting peace and democracy and to promote an effective programme of national reconstruction and development". It also requested the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to mobilize this assistance. ■

Lusaka Protocol welcomed ending 20 years of war

UNAVEM II extended until February 1995

The Security Council on 21 November welcomed the signing of the Protocol of Lusaka by representatives of the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The Protocol, together with the Bicesse Peace Accords, should "lay the foundation for a lasting peace" in Angola, the Council declared in a presidential statement.

In welcoming the signing, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the agreement was expected to bring to an end a conflict that had "raged for almost 20 years in Angola and brought untold suffering and destruction to the country and its people". Angola's future lay in the hands of its people and its leaders, he added.

The Protocol was signed on 20 November in the Zambian capital of Lusaka by Angola's Minister for External Relations, Venâncio de Moura, and by UNITA's Secretary-General and chief negotiator at the Lusaka peace talks, Eugénio Manuvakola, in the presence of Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos. The ceremony was witnessed by several heads of State, Foreign Ministers and other dignitaries. Citing security concerns, UNITA President Jonas Savimbi did not travel to the Zambian capital.

A comprehensive agreement, the Lusaka Protocol consists of ten annexes covering all legal, political and military issues agreed to at the talks. The major political issues include: the police; the UN mandate and the role of the observers of the Peace Accords; the completion of the electoral process; and the question of national reconciliation. The main military issues concern: the re-establishment of the cease-fire; the withdrawal, quartering and demilitarization of all UNITA military forces; the disarming of civilians; and the completion of the formation of the Forcas Armadas Angolanas (FAA).

UN Photo 187064/B. Mulenga

Signing the Protocol on 20 November *(seated from left)*: Gen. E. N. Manuvakola of UNITA; UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye; Angolan Foreign Minister Venâncio de Moura.

The Council on 8 December, in adopting resolution 966 (1994), extended the mandate of the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) until 8 February 1995, to monitor the cease-fire established under the new Protocol. It also welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to restore UNAVEM II to its previous strength, contingent on strict observance of an effective cease-fire and on guarantees of safety and security for UN personnel.

On 31 October, after approximately a year of negotiations in Lusaka, the heads of delegations of the Angolan Government and UNITA had initialled the Protocol. In a statement issued on that day, the Secretary-General said he hoped the "necessary momentum has now been created for the immediate establishment of an effective cease-fire" and appealed to the parties to take this decision without delay. General Assembly President Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire on 2 November also welcomed the development and urged the parties to "end combat in the field immediately".

The Council on 4 November, while welcoming the initialling of the agreement, expressed grave concern over reports of an intensification of military operations in the country that "put the lives of Angolan citizens at risk and jeopardize the successful completion of the peace process". In a statement, it stressed that "any obstruction to the peace process would be unacceptable", and urged the Angolan Government to "exercise its authority to bring an immediate end to the military activities". It called on the parties to honour their commitments, exercise

maximum restraint and responsibility, and "refrain from any action that could jeopardize the signing of the Protocol on 15 November 1994".

Expansion of UNAVEM

In a 4 December report *(S/1994/1376)*, Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the Council he would proceed with the expansion of UNAVEM II once his Special Representative, Alioune Blondin Beye of Mali, had reported the cease-fire to be effective. He would also prepare recommendations on the possible mandate for a new UN operation in Angola, which he hoped to submit to the Council before 31 January 1995.

On 7 December, in a letter to the Council *(S/1994/1395)*, the Secretary-General notified that Mr. Beye had reported the cease-fire to be "generally holding, despite some initial difficulties". The Secretary-General, in accordance with resolution 952 (1994) of 27 October, said he therefore intended to proceed with the restoration of UNAVEM II's strength to its previous level and with the deployment of the mission throughout the country.

He stressed that the "actual enlargement of the mission would be dependent on the strict observance by the parties of an effective cease-fire". In addition to existing tasks, UNAVEM II would monitor and verify all major elements of the Lusaka Protocol, provide good offices to the parties, including at the local level, and if necessary conduct inspections and investigations of alleged violations independently or jointly with the parties.

On 20 October, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/1994/1197)* that as a result of progress achieved since early September, the peace talks were in their final phase. In the expectation that an agreement would be concluded by 31 October, Mr. Boutros-Ghali recommended extending UNAVEM's mandate until 30 November. He again appealed to the Government and UNITA to "exercise the utmost restraint and to desist from all military operations which could undermine the progress achieved in Lusaka".

The Council, encouraged by the substantial progress at the Lusaka peace talks, on 27 October urged the parties to "conclude immediately an agreement and thereafter to establish and respect fully an effective and sustainable cease-fire". By resolution 952 (1994), it renewed the UNAVEM II mandate until 8 December.

In his 4 December report, the Secretary-General noted that, "owing to continued fighting throughout Angola", talks between high-ranking military representatives of the Government and UNITA had begun only on 14 November. During the period, several appeals to the parties were made by the Security Council, Member States and the Secretary-General to put a stop to the hostilities.

> **"The Protocol should lay the foundation for a lasting peace"**

After a meeting with the Special Representative and the three observer States in Lusaka, the parties agreed to sign the Protocol on 20 November 1994—five days later than set at the time of the initialling. They also agreed to establish a truce as of 16 November, until the formal cease-fire provided for in the Protocol came into effect.

On 18 November, concerned at allegations that the truce was not being respected, Council President Madeleine Albright of the United States sent identical messages to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, calling on them to "ensure that their forces adhered strictly to the terms of the truce". She also urged them to sign the Protocol at the agreed time.

On 21 November, the Council expressed concern at reports that fighting was continuing and called on the parties to "demonstrate their commitment to peace" by implementing the agreement fully and in a timely manner and, most importantly, to respect the cease-fire required by the Protocol. Also on 21 November, the Secretary-General said immediate action must be taken to implement the agreement and that the cessation of hostilities be established without delay.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali reported on 4 December that intensive efforts by his Special Representative had preceded the signing of the Protocol. After the signing and the cease-fire's entering into effect two days later, the fighting had begun to subside. However, by 24 November, new reports of clashes were received and the humanitarian situation "continued to be severely affected by the intensification of military offensives".

Also following the signing, an inter-agency mission traveled to Angola "with a view to determining the extension and the modalities of the comprehensive humanitarian aid programme" for the reintegration of displaced persons, repatriation of refugees and the implementation of the demobilization programme, the Secretary-General said.

UNAVEM teams deployed

Mr. Boutros-Ghali also reported that the high-level military talks and negotiations regarding the security arrangements for Mr. Savimbi and other senior UNITA leaders had concluded at Lusaka on 23 November. Further talks, to be held at Luanda on 29 November, did not resume as scheduled since the UNITA delegation, citing logistic and transport problems, delayed its arrival.

In order to enhance the verification capabilities of UNAVEM II and as an additional confidence-building measure, Special Representative Beye had decided to deploy to the countryside small teams of military and police personnel already serving with the Mission and, from 27 to 29 November, UNAVEM regional headquarters were established in Huambo, Luena, Menongue, Saurimo and Uige, in addition to the one already existing in Lubango. ■

Humanitarian efforts threatened by security problems

International Tribunal created

Acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Security Council on 8 November established an international tribunal for Rwanda to prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in that country and Rwandese citizens responsible for such acts committed in neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994.

The 32-Article Statute of the International Tribunal was adopted by the Council under resolution 955 (1994), by a vote of 13 to 1 (Rwanda), with 1 abstention (China).

The Tribunal is to consist of three main organs: the Chambers (comprising two three-judge Trial Chambers and one five-judge Appeals Chamber); the Prosecutor; and a Registry responsible for administering and servicing the Tribunal. The Prosecutor is Justice Richard Goldstone, who is also Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

Convinced that the prosecution of those responsible for violations of humanitarian law would contribute to national reconciliation and peace in Rwanda, the Council asked the Secretary-General to implement urgently resolution 955 (1994) and arrange for the Tribunal's effective functioning, including making recommendations at the earliest time on locations for the Tribunal's seat. The Secretary-General was asked to make periodic reports.

The Council considered that the Government of Rwanda should be notified before decisions were taken concerning the enforcement, pardon or commutation of sentences. It decided to consider increasing the number of judges and Trial Chambers of the Tribunal if it became necessary. It also decided that an office would be established and proceedings would be conducted in Rwanda, where feasible and appropriate, subject to the conclusion of similar appropriate arrangements.

The Council further decided that all States shall cooperate fully with the Tribunal and take any measures necessary under their domestic law to implement the provisions of the Statute and the Council resolution, including the obligation to comply with requests for assistance or orders by a Trial Chamber. States were asked to keep the Council informed of such measures.

According to the Statute, the Tribunal has the power to prosecute persons committing genocide, which is defined as acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Such acts include: killing members of the group and causing them bodily or mental harm; deliberately inflicting conditions calculated to bring about the group's physical destruction; imposing measures to prevent births; and forcibly transferring children to another group. The Statute stipulates that conspiracy, public incitement and the attempt to commit genocide, and complicity in genocide shall be punishable.

The Tribunal has the power to prosecute persons responsible for crimes committed as part of a widespread attack against any civilian population on the basis of national, political, ethnic, racial or religious grounds. Such

UNHCR/24158/H. J. Davies

Rwandese refugees on the road.

crimes include: murder; extermination; enslavement; deportation; imprisonment; torture; rape; persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds; and other inhumane acts.

Prosecutor Goldstone visited Kigali on 19 and 20 December and had talks with the Rwandese Government, which assured him of full cooperation. The Office was to open in January 1995.

Facing a painful dilemma

Mandate extended

On 30 November, the Council, in adopting resolution 965 (1994), extended the mandate of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) until 9 June 1995. It also expanded the mandate to enable the Mission to contribute to the security of the Tribunal's personnel and of human rights officers, including full-time protection for the Prosecutor's Office, as well as security details for missions outside Kigali, and to assist in establishing and training a new, integrated police force. Those tasks would be in addition to contributing to the security and protection of displaced persons and refugees, providing security for the distribution of relief supplies, and good offices to achieve national reconciliation within the framework of the 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement. The Secretary-General was asked to help in the establishment of an effective mine clearance programme.

The Council also strongly urged the Government to continue its cooperation with the Mission, in particular, in ensuring unimpeded access to all areas of Rwanda.

It hoped the Government would soon conclude appropriate arrangements with UNAMIR to increase its radio broadcasting capabilities so as to reach the refugee camps in neighbouring countries.

Secretary-General reports

On 25 November, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1994/1344)* that new threats and challenges continued to emerge in Rwanda, in particular, the "creeping militarization of the refugee camps" that had created "a painful dilemma" for the international community. It was unacceptable that humanitarian assistance was being used to "threaten not only the security of refugee camps but the stability of Rwanda", he stated.

The Government was asked to ensure that its resolve to promote conditions conducive to safe and voluntary repatriation and national reconciliation was translated into concrete action and programmes.

Meanwhile, the Rwanda Emergency Normalization Plan formulated by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, the forthcoming round-table meeting organized by the UN Development Programme, and the consolidated inter-agency appeal gave the international community ample opportunity to respond to the Government's need for assistance. If, however, the current unsettled situation was not addressed promptly, there was danger of renewed conflict.

UNAMIR was ready to provide the coordinated leadership necessary for the overall process of peace and reconciliation, the Secretary-General said. Ultimately, however, "it is the people of Rwanda themselves who must solve the problems of their country".

To create conditions that would allow more than 2 million Rwandese refugees and some 1.5 million to 2 million displaced persons within the country to return home, the Government was concentrating on ensuring public security, restoring civil administration and reconstructing the country's social and economic infrastructure, the Secretary-General observed. There was also a growing problem of land tenure and rival claims to property rights. Although the Government had emphasized that the wrongful occupation of another person's property was unlawful, it was difficult to implement that policy.

The security situation in the refugee camps continued to worsen and some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had withdrawn their operations. Others were considering withdrawal, as the militia's increasing control over the distribution of relief supplies made safe delivery virtually impossible. There was also evidence that former Rwandese Government Forces (RGF) were actively recruiting and training troops and intensifying their propaganda campaign against the new Government.

UNAMIR had reached its full authorized troop strength of 5,500, and the human rights field operation in Rwanda launched by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights had established seven regional offices, the report stated.

Also, specific efforts were being made to address the plight of unaccompanied children and pursue family-tracing programmes. There were renewed efforts to launch AIDS-awareness programmes, provide seeds and tools, and get education programmes under way, the report added.

UNHCR/24136/H. J. Davies

Building a new infrastructure is a priority. *Above*, installing a water tank at Katale camp.

Actions condemned

At a second meeting on 30 November, the Council condemned actions being taken by former Rwandese leaders, government forces and militias to prevent, in some cases by force, the repatriation of refugees. It also condemned the interference by those groups and individuals with the provision of humanitarian relief, actions which had led to the withdrawal of some non-governmental relief agencies from the camps.

In a statement by its President, Madeleine K. Albright of the United States, the Council expressed alarm that those same groups might be preparing for an armed invasion of Rwanda and deplored the fact that food distributed by relief agencies for those in the camps was apparently being misappropriated to support such an invasion. It also stressed the responsibilities of neighbouring countries for ensuring that their territories were not used to destabilize the situation inside Rwanda.

Acting on an 18 November report *(S/1994/1308)* of the Secretary-General on the situation in the refugee camps, the Council asked the Secretary-General to consult potential troop contributors to assess their willingness to participate in a possible peace-keeping operation to create secure areas within large camp sites. The Council also encouraged him to assess initial measures for immediate assistance to the Zairian security forces protecting humanitarian operations in the camps, including the possibility of deploying security experts, from member Governments or through contract arrangements, to train and monitor local forces. It was concerned that the use of local security forces without international involvement might not prove to be an effective approach. The Council recognized that the Government of Rwanda needed immediate and major financial assistance.

The Council noted that preparations were under way for convening in Bujumbura in the near future a regional conference on assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons in the Great Lakes region, sponsored by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and endorsed by the General Assembly *(resolution 49/7)*. Given the urgent need to take forward the political process, it also asked the Secretary-General to accelerate preparations for a joint UN/OAU conference, convened at a later date, to address a range of political and other issues in order to identify long-term solutions to ensure peace, security and development in the subregion.

Violence deplored

At a 14 October meeting, the Council expressed concern at the plight of millions of refugees and displaced persons in Rwanda and the countries of the region. It deplored the continuing acts of intimidation and violence designed to prevent refugees in camps from returning home and called on the Governments of neighbouring countries to do all in their power to ensure the safety of both the refugees and the international personnel providing humanitarian assistance.

In a statement by its President, Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom, the Council welcomed the expressed commitment of the Rwandese Government to achieving national reconciliation and promoting respect for the fundamental rights of individuals, and stressed the importance it attached to the implementation of that commitment.

The Council endorsed the Secretary-General's call to the Government to maintain an "open dialogue with all political interest groups", in order to achieve genuine reconciliation between all elements of Rwandese society. The Council encouraged the Government to invite members of the Mouvement républicain national pour le développement (MRND) who were not involved in the massacres to participate in the Government and to absorb members of the former RGF into the new army.

The Council affirmed the importance it attached to the avoidance of reprisals against returnees and to the safeguarding of their property rights. It welcomed the Government's efforts to facilitate the return of refugees and to begin the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction. It welcomed the speedy response of the UN and the Government to allegations that some Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) soldiers might have been responsible for systematic killings, and underlined the importance it attached to the thorough and expeditious investigations of those allegations.

In a 6 October report *(S/1994/1133)*, the Secretary-General endorsed the recommendation made by the Commission of Experts that trials of individuals suspected of serious breaches of international humanitarian law, crimes against humanity and acts of genocide be carried out by an international criminal tribunal.

'Overwhelming evidence' obtained

The Commission of Experts concluded that there existed overwhelming evidence to prove that acts of genocide against the Tutsi ethnic group were committed by Hutu elements in a "concerted, planned, systematic and methodical way". Crimes against humanity and serious violations of international humanitarian law were committed by individuals of both sides of the conflict, but there was no evidence to suggest that acts committed by Tutsi elements were perpetuated with an intent to destroy the Hutu ethnic group as such, the experts reported.

Assembly action

On 2 December, the General Assembly encouraged *(49/23)* the Government of Rwanda to pursue efforts with a view to creating conditions which would be conducive to the return of refugees and their resettlement and to the recovery by displaced persons of their property in peace, security and dignity.

The Assembly also expressed *(49/24)* deep concern at the grave social, economic, health and ecological impact of the massive and unexpected presence of refugees in neighbouring countries of Rwanda. ■

Security Council urges rejection of confrontation, violence, extremism

Concerned about the escalating violence in Burundi, the Security Council on 22 December urged all sides to reject confrontational tactics, violence or extremism, and to work towards compromise and conciliation in a spirit of national unity which transcended ethnic origins.

In a statement by Council President Manzi Bakuramutsa of Rwanda, it expressed concern over the escalation of violence in Burundi which threatened to further destabilize an already fragile situation and could endanger the subregion's stability. It supported efforts by Burundi authorities to ensure that those committing or inciting the commitment of acts of violence were held accountable and that the militias still operating in Bujumbura and in the countryside were disarmed.

The Council encouraged the Government, the National Assembly, the political parties and all others concerned, in particular the army, to respect and support the 10 September 1994 Convention of Government and thus avoid jeopardizing the balance and relative stability in place since its implementation. It welcomed efforts towards further political progress in Burundi and underlined the importance of continuing to resolve all outstanding issues through dialogue on the basis of agreements reached thus far by the political parties.

Threat deplored

On 21 October, the Council deplored the fact that extremist elements continued to threaten national reconciliation in Burundi, including through the operation of a clandestine radio station inciting ethnic hatred and violence.

In a statement by its President, Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom, the Council welcomed the election and the swearing in of Burundi's President, the confirmation in office of the Prime Minister, and the formation of the new coalition Government as important steps forward in the stabilization of the situation. It called on all parties to cooperate in the work of re-establishing democracy and stability.

The Council reaffirmed the importance of bringing to justice those responsible for the 21 October 1993 coup and the subsequent inter-ethnic massacres and other violations of international humanitarian law. It also encouraged the Secretary-General to pursue his suggestion that UN assistance be provided to the Government of Burundi in strengthening its judicial system.

The Council welcomed the dispatch of a UN Special Envoy to study the refugee crisis from a regional perspective. It encouraged the efforts to convene an international conference on the subregion's problems. It called on the international community to continue to give priority to the restoration of stability and the promotion of national reconciliation in Burundi. It noted the important role that might be played by human rights monitors and welcomed the recent increase in Organization of African Unity (OAU) military observers in that country. It also encouraged the OAU, UN agencies and Member States to continue their involvement in Burundi and to intensify political contacts and visits.

Recent events described

In an 11 October report (*S/1994/1152*), the Secretary-General described recent events and discussed the security problems and the political, humanitarian and human rights situation in Burundi. The situation was characterized by a serious breakdown of law and order, and distrust between the two communities.

Although the election of a new President had stabilized the situation, it nevertheless remained precarious, he said, and the international community should continue encouraging the moderates to re-establish democracy, and Member States should maintain their interest in Burundi. ■

Assembly endorses regional conference

On 25 October, the General Assembly fully endorsed *(resolution 49/7)* the African countries' wishes to convene a regional conference for assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons in the Great Lakes region of Burundi and invited competent bodies of the UN system to take part in its implementation.

While encouraging the new coalition Government to continue to fight against warmongers and disarm the militias and other extremist groups, the Assembly invited the parties concerned in the process of national reconciliation to continue their efforts to re-establish peace and democracy in the country. It encouraged the Secretaries-General of the UN and the OAU to continue efforts to normalize the precarious situation in Burundi.

The Assembly asked Member States, the UN system and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to provide Burundians with assistance in reconstruction and revitalization of the economy.

Mandela calls for UN support to rebuild South Africa

South African President Nelson Mandela has told the General Assembly that the new, democratic, non-racial South Africa would need the UN's continued support "to achieve the goal of the betterment of the conditions of life" of his people.

In a 3 October speech, Mr. Mandela said he was pleased and inspired that both the UN Secretary-General and the specialized agencies had taken up the development challenge in his country "with the enthusiasm that they have shown".

In resolution 48/258, the Assembly had strongly appealed to Member States and the international community to provide generous assistance to South Africa in the implementation of its reconstruction and development programmes. The Secretary-General was asked to consider appointing a high-level coordinator for UN development activities in South Africa.

By that text—adopted on 23 June, the day South Africa resumed its seat in the Assembly after a 20-year suspension—the Assembly had expressed satisfaction at the successful holding of elections in April 1994 in South Africa, the establishment of the Government of National Unity, and the coming into effect of a non-racial and democratic constitution for the transitional period. The Assembly congratulated all South Africans and their political leaders on their success in bringing apartheid to an end and in laying, through broad-based negotiations, the foundations for a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa, with equal and guaranteed rights for each and all.

The Assembly had also welcomed South Africa back to the community of nations as represented in the Assembly, and had called upon the specialized agencies and related organizations to take actions to re-establish South Africa's full membership.

Call to invest and open markets

Mr. Mandela began his state visit to the United States on 4 October. At a press conference at Headquarters on 3 October, he asked Americans to invest in South Africa and open their markets to it, which would be to the mutual benefit of both countries, he affirmed. His Government had created a situation of political and economic stability, and had formulated guidelines favourable to foreign investments. "I am not coming here cap in hand. I am coming as a representative of a sovereign and proud country. I do not want charity—I want to mobilize resources in order to address the ugly socio-economic problems facing our country."

He declared: "Now we want to build our country and we need resources" to address such problems as the lack of jobs, houses and medical facilities, and to introduce electricity into urban and rural areas.

No conditions would be imposed on investors and the Government would discuss its concerns, if any, directly with them. He would like to see foreign investors enter into partnership with black businesses.

UN Photo 188117/ Ba

General Assembly President Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire greeting President Mandela on 3 October.

Donor conference

Representatives from nearly 50 Governments and more than 25 international non-governmental organizations gathered in Cape Town from 26 to 28 October for the first major donor conference under a new and democratic South Africa. The conference, whose central theme was human resource development, represented the first substantial exchange between South Africa and the international community on the subject of the country's Reconstruction and Development Programme—a comprehensive and integrated development plan. ■

Hope for 'transition period' by June

Voter identification proceeds

UN Photo

The Secretary-General visited the region in November 1994. *Above*, at Tindouf.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has expressed hope that enough progress would have been made by 31 March 1995 in identifying and registering voters in Western Sahara, to enable him to recommend 1 June 1995 as the start of the transitional period.

In a 14 December report (*S/1994/1420*), the Secretary-General said that in accordance with the UN Settlement Plan for Western Sahara, the combatants of the two sides would be confined to designated locations as of that date—to be known as "D-Day". As soon as possible afterwards, prisoners-of-war would be exchanged, amnesties for political prisoners and detainees proclaimed, and all political prisoners or detainees released.

Not later than 11 weeks after D-Day, by mid-August 1995, the reduction of Moroccan forces in the territory would be completed and all laws or measures that could obstruct the conduct of a free and fair referendum would be suspended.

The Secretary-General, who visited the region in November for consultations with the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia El-Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) and the Moroccan Government, recommended that the Security Council approve the expansion of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) to facilitate the timely completion of the identification and registration process. Such process should then be completed by mid-August and a final list of voters published. The Secretary-General envisaged the referendum to take place by October 1995.

The Security Council said there must be no further undue delay in the holding of a free, fair and impartial referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, in accordance with the settlement plan. In a 15 November statement by its President, Madeleine Albright of the United States, the Council concurred with the Secretary-General's view that the 28 August launching of the process for identifying and registering potential voters was a significant step towards fulfilment of the UN mandate on Western Sahara.

The Council expressed concern over the slow speed of the identification process, particularly over the small proportion of potential voters that had so far been interviewed. While recognizing the logistical difficulties involved, it urged the two parties to exert all possible efforts to facilitate the work of MINURSO, and also urged the earliest possible deployment of the Identification Commission staff already approved by the General Assembly.

In a 5 November report (*S/1994/1257*), the Secretary-General said that the 28 August launching had marked a significant step towards the fulfilment of the UN mandate. Observers had been of the general view that the process had been conducted with "transparency and rigour" and with the cooperation of all parties.

During the first two months of the registration process, only a very small proportion of applicants had been identified. A last-minute flood of applications had greatly increased the potential scale of the operation, and the dispersal of tribal subgroups, who must be identified individually with the assistance of their sheikhs, had made the operation logistically more complex. As a result, the Secretary-General had decided to review his original intention of recommending that the transitional period should start on 1 October 1994, with the referendum set for 14 February 1995.

The General Assembly on 9 December, in resolution 49/44, restated its support for further UN efforts, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, to organize and supervise a referendum for self-determination, in conformity with the settlement plan approved by the Council. It also reaffirmed the agreed goal of holding a free, fair and impartial referendum without any military or administrative constraints, and hoped that direct talks between the two parties would soon resume. ■

UN peace-keepers to withdraw by end of March 1995

The Security Council on 4 November, in extending the mandate of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for a final period until 31 March 1995, decided that every effort should be made to withdraw all peace-keeping forces and assets from Somalia "in a secure and orderly manner". To that end, it authorized the forces to take the actions necessary to protect the withdrawal.

"The establishment of a viable and acceptable peace can only come from the Somalis themselves", the Secretary-General declared in a report to the Council. "The international community cannot impose peace."

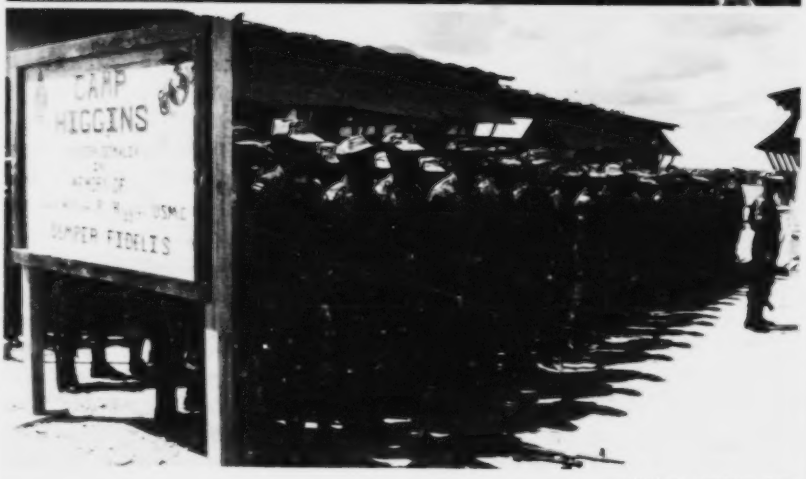
In adopting resolution 954 (1994), the Council demanded that Somali parties refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against UNOSOM II and other personnel engaged in humanitarian activities.

Member States were asked to assist in the withdrawal of ONUSOM—which was launched in April 1992, when tens of thousands of Somali citizens were reported starving and subject to daily violence by armed bandits.

The Secretary-General was asked to keep the Council informed about the withdrawal process, the developments affecting the humanitarian situation, the security situation for humanitarian personnel, the repatriation of refugees and impacts on neighbouring countries. In reporting to the Council before 31 March 1995, he was to make suggestions on the role that the UN could play in Somalia beyond that date.

At the peak of its operations, UNOSOM had a strength of 30,000 troops and civilians, making it the largest peace-keeping force in UN history. By the end of 1994, some 8,000 peace-keepers were still in Somalia.

UN Photo 159831/M. Grant



UN Photo 159805/M. Grant

UNOSOM troops—at their peak numbering 30,000—were sent to facilitate political reconciliation and humanitarian aid.

The Council affirmed that, until its termination, UNOSOM II's primary purpose was to facilitate political reconciliation in the country. It urged Somali factions to negotiate a cease-fire and the formation of a transitional government of national unity. It called upon Member States, particularly neighbouring countries, to continue supporting Somali efforts towards peace and national reconciliation, and invited the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to continue their cooperation with the UN in that regard.

The Council reiterated the need for observance and strict monitoring of the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, and asked the Committee established by the Council for that purpose to fulfil its mandate and seek the cooperation of neigh-

bouring States for the embargo's effective implementation.

(On 16 November, that Committee appealed to individuals, and national and international organizations for information relating to any violations or alleged violations of the mandatory arms embargo established against Somalia under resolution 733 (1992) of 23 January 1992.)

Interim extension approved

The Security Council on 31 October, in unanimously adopting resolution 953 (1994), extended UNOSOM II's mandate for an interim period expiring on 4 November.

In so doing, the Council provided itself time to consider the report of its seven-member mission to Somalia (24-29 October) before completing the review of the Operation's mandate and deciding on its future.

The mission, led by Colin Keating of New Zealand, was charged with conveying directly to the Somali political parties the Council's views on the situation in Somalia and on the future of the UN's presence there.

In a 3 November report *(S/1994/1245)*, the mission said that none of the Somali factions had asked for an extension of UNOSOM II's presence beyond 31 March 1995. The mission's visit had provided a timely opportunity to influence political events in a positive direction, and hopefully might have had some useful impact, the report added.

However, everything that the mission had seen had left its members with a profound sense of unease and a fear that, whether or not UNOSOM II left, political reconciliation or the emergence of a government that enjoyed widespread acceptance was far from certain. The risk of a return to civil war was real, the report said. The Council should continue to receive reports and monitor the situation, given its role to date, even after UNOSOM II's withdrawal.

In a 14 October report *(S/1994/1166)*, the Secretary-General noted that Somali leaders still had not carried out commitments entered into under the Addis Ababa Agreement of 27 March 1993 and the Nairobi Declaration of 24 March 1994, and a "vacuum of civil authority" had been created, leaving the UN with no function to build on.

The Secretary-General estimated that the withdrawal might take up to 120 days. He recommended that, should the withdrawal of forces take place under hostile circumstances, troop-contributing States respect unified command and control under the authority of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, James V. Gbeho, and the UNOSOM II Force Commander. Unilateral attempts by those States to extricate their contingents would only deepen the problem.

Time to consolidate

UNOSOM's mandate extension would give Somali leaders time to consolidate political reconciliation. The Special Representative would continue to help achieve reconciliation, at least to the extent of agreeing to establish a transitional government. If progress were made, some UN presence in Somalia might continue beyond March 1995 if justified by the overriding objective of restoring effective government.

Humanitarian organizations were committed to continue their work in Somalia, but they could only do so in a secure environment, the report observed. If Somalia plunged into anarchy and chaos following the UNOSOM withdrawal, the responsibility would rest squarely on the shoulders of Somali leaders.

The report stated that repatriation of 500,000 refugees and the resettlement of up to 400,000 internally displaced persons must be tackled as soon as possible. However, continued insecurity and the lack of political reconciliation progress had limited rehabilitation interventions to small-scale projects.

A special meeting was convened at Nairobi on 24 and 25 October, with the participation of all interested entities, to review the future of humanitarian operations in Somalia following the termination of UNOSOM's mandate.

In a statement by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee on Somalia (IASC), UN organizations working in that country reconfirmed their commitment to continue to the maximum extent possible emergency and rehabilitation activities even beyond the expiration of UNOSOM's mandate.

The immediate goal was to continue to address the pressing needs of the most vulnerable groups. Basic community services were unlikely to be sustained much beyond the withdrawal of external financial or management support.

Without a continued military presence or new security arrangements, it would not be possible to provide the necessary assistance to Somalis, the IASC felt. UN organizations agreed to adopt a common and coordinated approach to retain or replace the essential programme support and operational services formerly provided by UNOSOM. They were committed to developing a common framework for action with the full participation of all operational partners. To that end, it was proposed that a UN coordination team be established, composed of senior representatives of UN organizations active in Somalia.

On 7 December, the Security Council welcomed the IASC statement reconfirming their commitment to continue emergency and rehabilitation activities even beyond the expiry of UNOSOM's mandate.

On 20 December, the General Assembly, in resolution 49/21K, urged States and organizations to continue to support Somalis in rehabilitating basic social and economic services. It appealed to all Somali parties concerned to terminate hostilities and to engage in a national reconciliation process that would allow for a transition from relief to reconstruction and development. ■

Peace agreement concluded

UNOMIL mandate extended

All the warring factions in Liberia concluded on 21 December in Accra, Ghana, a peace agreement, which calls for a cessation of hostilities as of 28 December, the seating of a new transitional government within two weeks, disarmament of combatants, and the eventual holding of elections.

In a letter to Ghana's President Jerry John Rawlings, the Secretary-General said it was with great satisfaction that he had learned about the conclusion of the "significant" agreement. The letter, made public on 23 December, stated: "This agreement, after long and ardous negotiations, would not have been possible without your personal determination and persistence." He cited Mr. Rawlings' "tireless efforts to seek reconciliation among the people of Liberia, an indispensable prerequisite for the development of peace and stability in the region". The Secretary-General hoped that all Liberian parties would abide by their commitments and that the agreement would "herald an era of peace, national reconciliation and prosperity in Liberia".

On 22 December, it was reported that the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) had about 80 military observers reduced by the Secretary-General, with the Security Council's approval, from an authorized strength of 368 in September, when the situation in the country had so badly deteriorated that they could not effectively carry out their observation functions.

On 21 October, the Security Council extended UNOMIL's mandate until 13 January 1995. It also demanded that all factions strictly respect the status of personnel from the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Observer Group (ECOMOG) and UNOMIL, and refrain from any violence or intimidation against them.

Widespread killings

In unanimously adopting resolution 950 (1994), the Council condemned the widespread killings of civilians and other violations of international humanitarian law by the factions, and the detention and maltreatment of UNOMIL observers, ECOMOG soldiers, humanitarian relief workers and other international personnel. It demanded that all factions strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law.

The Council called on all factions to immediately cease hostilities and agree to a timetable for disarmament and demobilization, and further called on the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) and all Liberians to seek political accommodation and national reconciliation. It also called on States to strictly comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by Council resolution 788 (1992) under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to send a high-level mission to consult with ECOWAS member States on how the international community could best assist the peace process in Liberia, and recognized that circumstances warranted his decision to reduce UNOMIL's strength until such time as he reported improvement in the situation on the ground, in particular the security situations, to the Council.

Peace process 'stalled'

In a 14 October seventh progress report *(S/1994/1167)*, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council extend the Mission's mandate for two months to allow time for a high-level mission's consultation with the ECOWAS Chairman, President Rawlings of Ghana, regarding the future roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG and how the interna-

UN Photo 188681 E. Schneider

Liberia's Ambassador William Bull addressing the Council on 21 October.

tional community could best assist Liberia in halting hostilities. (A high-level UN mission led by Assistant Secretary-General Lansana Kouyate of the Department of Political Affairs visited Liberia and ECOWAS member States from 18 November to 2 December.)

The Secretary-General urged the LNTG, the factions and the people of Liberia to focus on political accommodation. He reported that the peace process had "stalled" and the military situation remained "confused". The humanitarian situation was characterized by the rural population's suffering, large-scale displacement, indiscriminate killing, torture, rape, destruction of property and looting. He called for rigorous implementation of the arms embargo on Liberia and stressed that continued hostilities would affect the subregion's stability.

Akosombo agreement

According to the Secretary-General's report, ECOWAS Chairman Rawlings had convened a meeting of faction leaders at Akosombo, Ghana, which had culminated in the signing on 12 September of the Akosombo Agreement, supplementing the Cotonou agreement.

[UNOMIL had been established by Security Council resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 to implement the Cotonou agreement. That peace agreement to end the civil strife in Liberia was signed on 25 July 1993 by the three parties to the Liberian conflict: the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU); the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO)].

Signing the Akosombo Agreement were Charles Taylor, leader of the NPFL, Alhaji Kromah of the ULIMO-Kroma and General Hezekiah Bowen, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). A delegation of the General Roosevelt Johnson faction (ULIMO-Johnson) also attended the meeting and accepted the agreement later. The Liberia Peace Council (LPC) and the Lofa Defence Force (LDF) had declined invitations to attend.

The Secretary-General said the Akosombo Agreement stated that all decisions of the five-member Council of State should be made on the basis of simple majority, as opposed to the consensus provided for in the Cotonou agreement, which had left the Council unable to reach decisions. Nominees to the Council of State would be changed, with each of the signatories to the agreement appointing one new member. The remaining two members, representing unarmed Liberians, would each be appointed by the Liberian National Conference and jointly by ULIMO and NPFL. Under the agreement, LNTG would conclude a status-of-forces agreement with ECOWAS.

According to the Secretary-General, the Liberian National Conference—a citizen's initiative convened from 24 August to 3 October to deliberate on aspects of the peace process—and the Akosombo Agreement reaffirmed the Cotonou agreement as the only framework for restoring peace and ensuing good governance, and called for a more central role for LNTG in its implementation. Both also called for an immediate cease-fire and for the Council of State to quickly adopt its rules of procedure, and for the Transitional Legislative Assembly to be expanded by an additional 13 persons from each of Liberia's counties.

The most significant divergence between the Conference resolutions and the Akosombo Agreement's terms was that the Conference called for retaining existing members on the Council of State, conferring upon its Chairman the functions of head of State, while the Agreement permitted the factions to review the status of their appointees and change the current membership. While both called for elections to take place around October 1995, the Conference proposed that the absolute majority system be retained for electing the President, Vice-President and Senators, with a change to proportional representation for the House of Representatives.

Military situation

The Secretary-General said fighting was likely to persist within NPFL and with other factions until control of Gbarnga—a town in the central region—was consolidated.

In July 1994, a coalition of AFL, LPC, ULIMO-Johnson and NPFL breakaway ministers had been formed to defeat NPFL's Charles Taylor and capture Gbarnga. Upon the departure of Charles Taylor on 6 September to attend the Akosombo meeting, the ULIMO-Kromah faction had attacked Gbarnga and seized Taylor's headquarters on 8 September. The following day, 43 unarmed UN military observers and six non-governmental organization (NGO) personnel had been detained by NPFL.

On 14 September, 33 military observers had been released. That same day, an ECOMOG contingent from the United Republic of Tanzania had been ambushed by ULIMO-Johnson elements as it had attempted to move from Gbarnga six UNOMIL military observers and six NGO personnel to Monrovia. Three Tanzanian soldiers had been killed, seven wounded and four captured. UNOMIL had been able to airlift UN, NGO and some ECOMOG personnel to Monrovia.

By 18 September, all military observers and NGO personnel had been released after having been beaten and terrorized, the Secretary-General reported. NPFL had retained all of UNOMIL's transport, communications and other equipment. Given ECOMOG's inability to provide security, UNOMIL was unable to carry out its mandate. As a result, all UNOMIL team sites had been evacuated except for those in the Monrovia area.

On 20 December, the General Assembly called upon the international community and intergovernmental organizations to provide Liberia with assistance for the repatriation and resettlement of Liberian refugees and the rehabilitation of combatants. It appealed to the international community to provide adequate assistance to programmes identified by the Secretary-General. ■

Border crisis recedes in face of Security Council demands

The Security Council on 15 October demanded that Iraq immediately complete the withdrawal of all its military units recently deployed in southern Iraq to their original positions and refrain from using its military or any other forces in a hostile or provocative manner to threaten either its neighbours or UN operations in Iraq.

Acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Council also demanded that Iraq not redeploy those units to the south or take any other action to enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq. The Council took that action by unanimously adopting resolution 949 (1994).

On 6 October, Kuwait had informed *(S/1994/1137)* the Council President that Iraq had broadcast a "clear and unequivocal threat" directed not only at Kuwait, but also at the relations between Iraq and the UN. Kuwait warned the international community that the Iraqi regime might be seeking to evade its legal responsibilities under Council resolution 687 (1991) and carry out another act of aggression against Kuwait.

On 8 October, in a presidential statement, the Council said it had received with grave concern reports that substantial numbers of Iraqi troops, including units of its Republican Guard, were being redeployed in the direction of the border with Kuwait. The Council requested the Secretary-General to ensure that the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) redoubled its vigilance and reported immediately any violation of the demilitarized zone or any potentially hostile action.

It also emphasized the necessity of full implementation of all its relevant resolutions, including full cooperation by Iraq, without interference, with the UN Special Commission's vital mission.

UN Photo 188514/J. Bu

The Security Council on 17 October, during the border crisis, heard the Russian Foreign Minister report on a meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Actions contrary to Charter

On 10 October, the Secretary-General expressed concern about the Iraqi attitude towards Kuwait, as reflected in recent statements and actions. He noted that those actions were contrary to the letter and spirit of Council resolutions governing the situation, and emphasized Iraq's obligation to comply fully with all resolutions for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Iraq's immediate and unqualified recognition of the Iraq-Kuwait border, as defined in resolution 833 (1993), and its full cooperation with the UN Special Commission would contribute to lessening tension in the region, as well as to reducing the suffering of the Iraqi people, he concluded.

Nizar Hamdoon of Iraq told reporters on 10 October that his Government had decided to move its troops from the Basra area, given the Council's concern over the matter. He added that it was the right of any Government to move its troops from time to time within its own territory.

Following its 15 October demand for withdrawal, the Council met again on 17 October. Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of the Russian Federation reported on his recent meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, stating he had called for improved procedures to ensure that sanctions directed at political elites did not punish peoples and third countries, and that the Council not employ double standards in the lifting of sanctions.

Madeleine K. Albright of the United States said that, while there were signs that Iraqi troops were withdrawing, she believed that the crisis was not over. The Council should reject suggestions that Iraq be rewarded for partial compliance with its obligations.

Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, said that during the recent clamour, its forces had been on Iraqi soil. The Council must interpret its resolutions in a correct and equitable

legal fashion. He felt some statements aimed to distort the facts and the objectives of the Council.

Iraq on 14 November informed the Secretary-General *(S/1994/1288)* that it recognized the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and its international boundaries. On 16 November, the Council welcomed that recognition as a "significant step" towards the implementation of relevant resolutions.

Progress on disarmament

The Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament has reported "much progress" towards the fulfilment of its mandate in the period from June to December 1994.

At an 11 October press conference in New York, Commission Chairman Rolf Ekéus said that Iraq currently had no capability to launch weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical or biological weapons. The Commission was convinced that Iraq's chemical weapons had been destroyed and it was monitoring dual-use technologies and industries to monitor the manufacture of new weapons.

The Commission reported *(S/1994/1422)* on 15 December that the major elements for chemical and missile monitoring were in place. Interim monitoring in the biological area had begun. System testing had started and a mechanism for monitoring Iraq's trade in dual-purpose items had been elaborated.

The Commission also reported that the political dialogue between the Special Commission and Iraq had continued, with high-level meetings held in New York and Baghdad between July and November.

Iraq had been "generally cooperative" in the Commission's efforts to establish the physical aspects of ongoing monitoring and verification, and had provided access to all sites designated by the Commission for inspection. However, its attitude to the provision of data and supporting evidence still fell far short of its obligation to provide complete disclosure of its past proscribed programmes and of its current and recent dual-purpose capabilities. It appeared that many of Iraq's declarations were "incomplete and sometimes contradictory".

The Commission said that Iraq maintained its claim, not believed by the Commission, that it had destroyed all documentation related to past programmes and that no other tangible proofs existed to support its accounts. The Commission believed that important documentation still existed and that the Iraqi authorities had taken the conscious decision not to release it.

On 6 October, the report continued, Iraq had indicated that unless the Council's consideration of the Commission's biannual report *(S/1994/1138 and Corr.1)* on implementation of ongoing monitoring and verification, scheduled to take place on or about 10 October, was favourable, it might withdraw its cooperation from the Commission. On 15 October, in resolution 949 (1994), the Security Council demanded that "Iraq cooperate fully with the UN Special Commission".

Mr Ekéus, at his 11 October press conference, said that the report seemed to have been given greater significance due to recent events in Iraq. While it was not the root cause of the crisis, the report seemed to have been the "trigger", he said.

The report also called attention to the Commission's serious financial situation, which jeopardized the monitoring and verification regime and might even endanger continuing operations.

Iraq and enriched uranium

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), reporting on its 26th on-site inspection *(S/1994/1206)* in Iraq under Council resolution 687 (1991), stated that as a result of an investigation of Iraq's former activities in laser isotope separation (LIS), principally at the Tuwaitha site, that country had admitted that, contrary to its previous statements, it had from 1981 to 1987 assigned resources to explore the feasibility of LIS as a means of producing enriched uranium.

The inspection had been carried out from 22 August to 2 September by a team of 18 inspectors from 11 nations to survey the general activities of the facilities and to monitor the status and utilization of machine tools. Team members had no difficulty in gaining access to production records and workpiece drawings, and there had been no indications that any machine tools were being used for proscribed purposes.

In the sixth report *(S/1994/1138)* on implementation of ongoing monitoring and verification dated 7 October, the Secretary-General stated that the Commission believed that the basic elements for a thorough system were now in place and that it was "provisionally operational". Testing of the thoroughness and efficacy of the system had begun.

The system was based on: regular inspection of facilities of concern; an inventory of all dual-purpose items; and following the fate of all inventoried items. Those would be supplemented with aerial surveillance with a variety of sensors, tags and seals. Together, they should constitute the most comprehensive international monitoring system ever established in the sphere of arms control.

Compensation Commission

The Governing Council of the UN Compensation Commission, in its 3 November report to the Security Council *(S/1994/1337)*, stated that it had approved the granting of compensation for the 53,845 category "A" claims (for departure from Iraq or Kuwait) recommended by the Panel of Commissioners. Payment would be delayed because of lack of sufficient resources in the Compensation Fund, it said.

The claims approved in May 1994 for the first installment under category "B" (for serious personal injury and death) had been relatively limited in terms of number and amounts. ■

End-of-year cease-fire signed, further negotiations urged

Tightened sanctions against FRY vetoed

Following complex, start-stop negotiations, agreements on a cease-fire and on a complete cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina were signed by its President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on 23 and 31 December, respectively. In welcoming the accords, the Security Council commended the efforts of "all who worked to achieve them" and urged an "immediate and full compliance".

A comprehensive settlement in Bosnia was pivotal to large-scale return in "safety and dignity" of refugees and displaced persons, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported on 6 December. Negotiations were also needed on the Tuzla airport, which "cannot be safely used if its opening is achieved by force".

Humanitarian access continued to be "intermittently denied to several safe areas", particularly the Bihac enclave, where it had been "obstructed since May 1994", the Secretary-General observed.

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which was providing thousands of tonnes of aid to 2.7 million people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, remained concerned over "several problem areas", including Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Zepa and Bihac, where access was still a major problem. Also, Bosnian Croat authorities had demanded a "tax" on fuel shipments into Bosnia—a demand rejected by the UNHCR. Bosnian Serbs had also blocked fuel deliveries to some areas, including Sarajevo, the agency reported.

UN Photo 188856/A. Burridge

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali with UNPROFOR commanders in Sarajevo on 30 November.

On 19 November, High Commissioner Sadako Ogata expressed "outrage" at the "vicious attacks" on densely populated civilian areas of Bihac. Those "horrific attacks must be stopped", and the "deliberate starvation of civilians in the Bihac enclave must not be allowed", she stated.

In a 6 January statement by its President, Emilio J. Cardenas of Argentina, the Security Council supported "efforts in train" to strengthen the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and encouraged Member States to provide the personnel and equipment needed for the Force to "supervise and monitor the agreements".

Full support for intensified efforts to achieve an "overall settlement on the basis of the acceptance of the peace plan" prepared by the Contact Group—France, Germany, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and United States—was also pledged.

The cease-fire agreement had been announced on 20 December by former United States President Jimmy Carter after his meeting with Dr. Karadzic in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In welcoming the announcement, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 21 December said Mr. Carter's visit to the former Yugoslavia had created a "new momentum which can be built upon".

Two accords

The two agreements provided for a "general cease-fire along all lines of confrontation" for an "initial period of seven days and four months", to be monitored by UNPROFOR through the "establishment of joint commissions", the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/8)* on 6 January.

The seven-day cease-fire took effect at 1200 hours on 24 December, while the four-month cessation of hostilities became effective from 1200 hours on 1 January 1995.

The parties agreed, among other things, to: enable the passage of UNPROFOR and humanitarian convoys; release promptly and unconditionally all detainees; separate their forces and position UNPROFOR units for "observation and monitoring, to include interpositioning"; and "comply immediately and fully" with all existing accords between them.

On 2 January, the Bosnian Croats agreed to sign the two pacts on the understanding that Croats and Muslims should "not be forcibly conscripted" into the Serb armed forces, and that ethnic cleansing of Croats and Muslims ceased, it was reported.

'War not an answer'

Negotiation was the only solution to the "web of conflicts" in the former Yugoslavia. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali told the Budapest summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on 5 December. "A continuation of war is not an answer and will never be an answer. One must negotiate and promote dialogue."

The effectiveness of negotiation had been demonstrated by a 2 December economic agreement between Croatia and the Krajina Serbs, he observed. It led, among other things, to a reopening of the Zagreb-Belgrade international highway on 21 December.

Battle of Bihac

By the end of October, the Bosnian Government forces had "achieved their largest territorial gain of the war", the Secretary-General reported *(S/1994/1389)* on 1 December.

But a mid-November Bosnian Serb counter-offensive, supported by the Krajina Serbs of Croatia, had "recovered the lost territories and advanced beyond the original confrontation lines to close in on the town of Bihac". The Krajina Serb forces, despite UNPROFOR warnings, had "repeatedly intervened in the fighting by launching missiles and air attacks", sometimes employing napalm and cluster bombs, the report said.

That led to a 21 November air strike by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on Udbina airfield, which had been used for those attacks. The air action, however, had not prevented the Bosnian Serbs from entering the safe area, nor had it made the Krajina Serbs "stop their military intervention", the Secretary-General stated.

In reflecting upon the "limitation of deterrence capacity" of air power, Mr. Boutros-Ghali noted the "extreme and unavoidable vulnerability of UNPROFOR troops to being taken hostage and to other forms of harassment, coupled with the political constraints on wider air action".

Between 1 October and 2 January, some 769 violations of the ban on military flights in the Bosnian airspace, imposed under Council resolution 816 (1993), were reported—114 less than in the previous three months. That brought to 3,434 the total number of apparent violations since monitoring began in November 1992 under resolution 781 (1992).

As the battle for the northwestern Bosnian enclave of Bihac raged, the food situation there had become "extremely urgent", with a "threat of hunger" looming for more than 150,000 people, the World Food Programme (WFP) reported on 5 December. The besieged enclave had been effectively cut off from food deliveries for over five months, and only two convoys with 126 metric tonnes of WFP-supplied food had reached the Bihac area since May, it stated.

Council resolutions 959, 958

Between October and December, the Security Council met, either formally or in consultations, on 12 occasions to consider the situation in the former Yugoslavia, adopting three resolutions and issuing five statements.

On 19 November, it condemned violations of the international border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demarcated that all parties and others concerned, particularly the so-called Krajina Serb forces, "fully respect the border and refrain from hostile acts across it".

By unanimously adopting resolution 959 (1994), the Council also expressed full support for UNPROFOR's efforts to ensure implementation of Council resolutions on safe areas, and called upon all Bosnian parties to "respect fully the status and functions" of the Force and cooperate with it.

Also on 19 November, the Council authorized Member States, acting nationally or through regional arrangements, to use air power to support UNPROFOR in Croatia. By unanimously adopting resolution 958 (1994), the Council thus expanded the authorization given under resolution 836 (1993) of 4 June 1993 to take "all necessary measures" to support the Force in and around the safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hostilities condemned

Earlier, the Council had condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the attack on Bihac by aircraft belonging to the so-called Krajina Serb forces, and the shelling by those forces from the UN Protected Areas (UNPAs) as a "flagrant violation" of Bosnia's territorial integrity and relevant Council resolutions.

In an 18 November statement by its President, Madeleine K. Albright of the United States, the Council also demanded, among other things, a cessation of "all hostile actions across the international border" between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and an "immediate end to all military activity" which endangered the lives of UNPROFOR personnel. A similar call had been made in a 13 November Council statement.

In a 26 November presidential statement, the Council demanded that: all Bosnian Serb forces withdrew from the safe area of Bihac; the "so-called Krajina Serb forces" left the Bosnian territory; and all parties and others concerned agreed to an "immediate and unconditional cease-fire" in Bihac, and intensified negotiations for a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities throughout Bosnia "in pursuit of the territorial settlement" proposed by the Contact Group.

By a 29 November statement, the Council called on the Bosnian Serb party to accept a UN-proposed cease-fire for Bihac, including an interposition of UNPROFOR and a complete demilitarization of the Bihac safe area.

Sarajevo trip

On 30 November, the Secretary-General went to Sarajevo, where he had a long meeting with Bosnian President Izetbegovic. However, Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic did not come to the airport and "no meeting with him was therefore possible", Mr. Boutros-Ghali announced in expressing his "disappointment and surprise".

The Secretary-General had declined Dr. Karadzic's offer to meet at another location as it was the UN position that it recognized "one governmental authority in that area", which was the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina", his Spokesman explained on 30 November at Headquarters.

The 12 December "deliberate attack" on UN peace-keepers in Velika Kladusa, in the Bihac region of Bosnia, was strongly condemned by the Council on 13 December.

In a statement by its President, Manzi Bakuramutsa of Rwanda, the Council said the victims, who were travelling in a vehicle carrying clear UN markings, had been hit by a wire-guided anti-tank missile, resulting in one death and injuries to four other Bangladeshi personnel.

In stating its outrage at the "incident of direct attack on UNPROFOR personnel" and demanding that such attacks did not recur, the Council warned the perpetrators that their "heinous acts of violence carries corresponding individual responsibility".

Safe areas: Modified regime

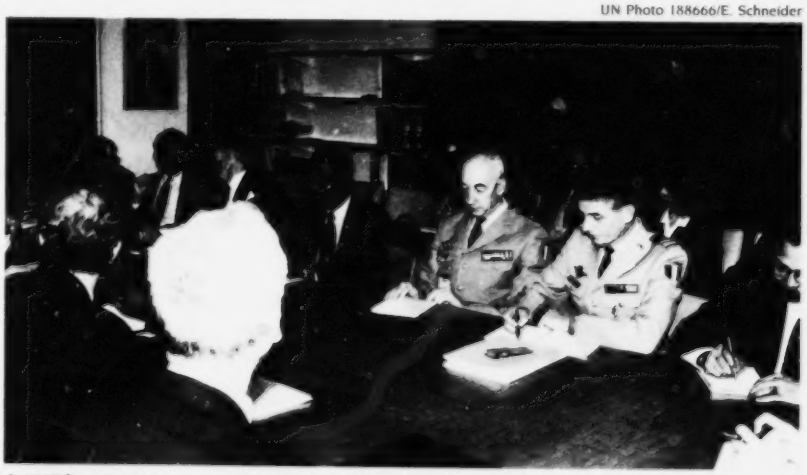
In order to achieve the "overriding objective of the safe areas", which was to provide protection of the civilian population and ensure humanitarian deliveries, the Council might redefine the present regime, the Secretary-General said in a 1 December report.

Such measures might include: delineation and demilitarization of the safe areas; cessation of hostilities and provocative actions; and "complete freedom of movement". But UNPROFOR's role of deterring violations of the safe areas "should not be changed to one of enforcing the regime", because to do so would create expectations that UNPROFOR "could not fulfil without compromising its basic mission", the Secretary-General stated.

Concerned with the grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina which was a "threat to international peace and security", the General Assembly on 3 November encouraged the Security Council to exempt that country from the arms embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia by resolution 713 (1991) of 25 September 1991.

In adopting resolution 49/10 by a vote of 97 to none, with 61 abstentions, the Assembly also noted Bosnia's offer to "seek *de jure* lifting of the arms embargo with effective

UN Photo 188666/E. Schneider



A NATO delegation meeting with UN officials at Headquarters in October to coordinate UNPROFOR policies.

application deferred for up to six months".

In other texts, the Assembly condemned: human rights and international law violations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)—FRY—*(resolution 49/196)*; rape and abuse of women and children in the areas of armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia *(49/205)*; human rights violations in Kosovo *(49/204)*; and militant actions of the self-proclaimed authorities in the Serb-controlled territories of Croatia, asking the FRY to cease immediately any military and logistical support to those authorities *(49/43)*. The Assembly also expressed concern at the "persistent special economic problems" of States adversely affected by the implementation of sanctions against the FRY *(49/21 A)*.

UN Photo 188748/E. Schneider

Security Council President Madeleine Albright of the United States *(centre)* confers with Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey, Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 8 November.

Council debate

In the course of a two-day debate (8 and 9 November) on lifting the arms embargo, held at the request of Pakistan, which called to "declare the entire 51 per cent of the territory allocated to the Muslim-Croat Federation a 'safe area'", the Security Council heard a total of 46 speakers.

Bosnia and Herzegovina stated that if faced with a choice between the lifting of the embargo and the continuation of UNPROFOR, it preferred the first option, since victims should be allowed to defend themselves.

Croatia said that the embargo imposed on the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—a State that had since then ceased to exist—should be lifted to create a "new desirable balance of power" in the region.

The United States declared that "a policy driven by fear has no future", and urged the Council to change its approach to make the Bosnian Serbs embrace peace.

Several speakers, however, argued that an end to the embargo would increase hostilities, jeopardize UNPROFOR and, in the Russian Federation's view, have the "most negative consequences for the political process". The five Nordic countries—Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway—said such a decision would risk escalating the war, and must remain a "last resort".

The United Kingdom announced that troop contributors would withdraw if the embargo were lifted, while France stated that "one cannot indeed simultaneously follow a logic of war and a logic of peace".

Resolution 967: Anti-serum from FRY

An export of some 12,000 vials of diphtheria anti-serum from the FRY was permitted, for a period of 30 days, by the Council on 14 December. In unanimously adopting resolution 967 (1994), it acted in exemption from resolution 757 (1992) of 30 May 1992, since the only available stocks of the anti-serum were located in the FRY.

Also on 14 December, the Security Council Committee established under resolution 724 (1991) had informed the Council of a request from the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) for approval to export the anti-serum vials to combat a "major resurgence of diphtheria" in several countries of Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

A draft resolution, by which the Security Council would have reconfirmed that all goods crossing the border between the FRY and Bosnia and Herzegovina, including goods for the UNPAs in Croatia, must comply strictly with all its relevant resolutions against Belgrade, particularly resolutions 820 (1993) and 943 (1994), was defeated on 2 December by a negative vote of the Russian Federation.

Sergei V. Lavrov of that country termed the draft "completely inadequate", since the FRY had begun to "cooperate constructively" with international efforts, "unconditionally supported" the territorial settlement plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and closed its borders to all deliveries to the Bosnian Serbs, except for humanitarian supplies.

Li Zhaoxing of China, who had abstained, said that he could not agree that Chapter VII of the UN Charter—dealing with actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression—should be invoked.

Mario Nobilo of Croatia said the text

would sent a message that strategic resources such as fuel, directed to the local Croatian Serbs, "cannot be used for the benefit of Bosnian Serbs". Ivan Z. Misic of Bosnia and Herzegovina stated that Council members who failed to support the draft would "practically be associating themselves with the Knin and Pale authorities".

The FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) was "continuing to meet its commitment" to close the border with the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Bosnian Serb control, Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), stated on 4 January 1995.

The ICFY Mission, which by 3 January had deployed 178 international personnel to FRY since 14 September, was covering 20 major crossings 24 hours a day and encountering "very few substantial problems". ICFY Coordinator Bo Pellnäs of Sweden found the situation "most satisfactory", the report said *(S/1995/6)*.

FRY compliance had also been certified by the Co-Chairmen on 1 December *(S/1994/1372)* and 3 November *(S/1994/1246)*, as they continued to report on "border closure measures" to the Security Council "every 30 days", pursuant to resolution 943 (1994) of 23 September.

A number of problems, however, still existed, including: helicopter flights and trucks passing the border in Montenegro; "well-orgaized smuggling"; an increase in the number of "military passenger cars with military plates and uniformed passengers" crossing the border; and difficulties in humanitarian deliveries due to measures taken by the FRY. Also, a crossing point north-west of Krstac had been left "wide open for five days" in November, the Co-Chairmen reported.

On 6 December, the Secretary-General stated *(A/49/758)* that ICFY continued to "deploy its best endeavours for a solution to the conflict" in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From July to December 1994, the ICFY had, among other things: provided a framework for dealing with humanitarian problems; initiated and helped to ensure a population census and "contributed to defusing tensions" in the October elections in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM); negotiated a "draft treaty on succession issues"; and brought together the Foreign Ministers of Croatia and the FRY for "what is hoped will be regular meetings in their respective capitals", the Co-Chairmen reported *(S/1994/1454)* on 29 December.

UNHCR Photo/2 1002/A. Hollmann

Refugee life is often bleak.

Red Cross visits, aid flows

Since the eruption of the Bosnian conflict in 1992, delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had visited about 34,000 detainees in 146 places of detention, and 8,825 detainees had been "released under ICRC auspices, including some 1,550, following the establishment of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina" on 1 March, the Secretary-General reported.

Having seen some 840 detainees held by the Bosnian Government and 570 held by the Bosnian Serbs by 20 November, the ICRC had "never been granted access to all of them since it has never regularly been notified of new captures", he said on 6 December.

Military attacks on civilian targets in Bosnia and Herzegovina had continued with "varying degrees of intensity", killing "many hundreds of men, women and children", Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated *(A/49/641-S/1994/1252)* on 4 November.

Although the principal perpetrators had been the Bosnian Serbs, the Bosnian Government forces had also been engaged in "attacks on civilians, especially at Brcko", and, with the local Croat authorities, were "responsible for certain interference" with the humanitarian aid deliveries, the Special Rapporteur stated.

The current wave of "forced and fear-induced displacement" in areas under Bosnian Serb control was the "largest since the summer of 1992", he said. Therefore, any peace agreements must ensure the "right to return of all displaced people", including some 30,000 displaced from northern Bihac into UNPA North.

International Tribunal: A 'momentous advance'

The establishment of the International Tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991—a "novel and experimental institution"—was a "momentous advance in the world community", so stated the new judicial body in its first annual report *(A/49/342-S/1994/1007)*.

Since 1946-1947, no international institution had been entrusted with the "noble but difficult task" of enforcing the laws of humanity by "calling to account those who have ridden roughshod over them".

In early November, an indictment involving charges of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws and customs of war and crimes against humanity, as well as warrants of arrest, had been issued to the "relevant national authorities" by Tribunal Prosecutor Richard Goldstone, the Secretary-General reported on 6 December. ■

Israel-Jordan peace treaty welcomed

Progress in other areas hoped for

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 26 October congratulated King Hussein of Jordan and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel on the signing earlier that day of the peace treaty between their countries, ending years of a state of belligerence. Mr. Boutros-Ghali expressed the hope that the historic event would be followed by "full implementation of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, and by new progress in the Israeli-Lebanese and Israeli-Syrian negotiations, leading to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East".

At the 17 October initialling of the treaty, the Secretary-General had said the agreement on the "difficult issues of water-sharing and borders" represented "another milestone in the Middle East peace process".

The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and to Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The Secretary-General on 14 October, in renewing his commitment to support their efforts, commended them on their "courage, dedication and imagination" in pursuing the peace process which had already achieved important results.

Tension escalates

On 19 October, a bomb attack on an Israeli bus in Tel Aviv claimed more than 20 civilian lives, with dozens more wounded. In a statement, the Secretary-General condemned "in the strongest possible terms this savage act of terrorism".

On 21 October, the Secretary-General also expressed deep concern at the escalation of tension along the Israeli-Lebanese border, particularly at a report by the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) of Israeli shelling of a Lebanese village that resulted in several civilian deaths. In his statement, he condemned all violence against civilians and called for restraint on all sides.

At a meeting of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on 29 November, commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the Secretary-General in a message called for prompt delivery of assistance already pledged. He said it would be "tragic indeed if the failure of the international community to match its words with deeds were to jeopardize the peace process for which so many have given so much" at a time when a lasting and comprehensive peace was finally within sight.

UNDOF mandate renewed until May

The Security Council on 29 November, by resolution 962 (1994), renewed the mandate of the 20-year-old UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for six months until 31 May 1995. The situation in the Middle East continued to be "potentially dangerous", until a comprehensive settlement could be reached, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1994/1311)*.

On 19 December, it was announced that Major-General Johannes Kosters of the Netherlands would succeed Major-General Roman Misztal of Poland as UNDOF Force Commander, effective mid-January.

Assembly acts

The forty-ninth General Assembly adopted more than 20 texts related to Palestine and the Middle East, voicing strong support for the peace process and urging implementation of agreements reached so far.

Among other things, the Assembly encouraged *(49/21 B)* Member States to contribute funds to finance a Palestinian police force, and urged *(49/21 N)* extension of economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people in the development of the West Bank and Gaza.

In adopting four texts on the question of Palestine *(49/62 A-D)*, the world body reaffirmed the UN's "permanent responsibility" concerning that issue until a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement was reached.

On the situation in the Middle East, the Assembly adopted resolution 49/88 by 149 votes to 4 (Iran, Lebanon, Libya and Syria), with 2 abstentions, stressing the need for rapid progress on the other tracks of Arab-Israeli negotiations. It also demanded *(49/87 B)* Israeli withdrawal from the "occupied Syrian Golan", stating that its de facto annexation constituted a stumbling block to peace.

Acting on Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization) recommendations, the Assembly adopted seven texts related to the work of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Among other things, it asked for steps to protect Arab property in Israel and endorsed the decision to transfer UNRWA headquarters from Vienna to the Gaza Strip. ■

Tajikistan operation established
Secretary-General visits area

Establishment of a new UN observer mission in Tajikistan, Ukraine's accession to the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the General Assembly's acknowledgement of the Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic States, and the Secretary-General's trips to Azerbaijan, Armenia and Moldova—these were major developments from October to December 1994, as the UN continued to monitor the situation in the former Soviet republics.

Ukraine, in acceding on 16 November to the NPT, "reconfirmed that it is a responsible member of the international community and that it takes into equal account the interests of its own security and the imperatives of security for all", Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma told the General Assembly on 21 November.

Prime Minister Maris Gailis of Latvia declared on 7 December that the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Baltic States was an "event of historic significance" and a "positive contribution" to regional and international peace and security.

On 4 November, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the press in Armenia's capital city of Yerevan that with regard to resolving regional and ethnic conflicts, including the situation in Nagorny Karabakh—a mostly Armenian-populated enclave in Azerbaijan—the UN position could be summarized as follows: respect for the territorial integrity of Member States; preservation of international borders; inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; and full implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions.

New UN operation

A new truce-monitoring operation—the UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)—was launched by the Council on 16 December. By unanimously adopting resolution 968 (1994), it established UNMOT for a period of up to six months, subject to the proviso that it would continue beyond 6 February 1995 only if the Tajik parties—the Government and the opposition—agreed by that date to further extend their cease-fire agreement.

The initial cease-fire, signed on 17 September at Tehran, Iran, had been extended until 6 February during the

Georgia's sovereignty reaffirmed, 'standstill' reported

The Security Council on 2 December declared that "any unilateral act purporting to establish a sovereign Abkhaz entity would violate the commitments assumed by the Abkhaz side to seek a comprehensive political settlement of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict".

The Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia had adopted on 26 November a new constitution declaring Abkhazia—a small Black Sea enclave attempting to secede from Georgia—a "sovereign democratic State", and had announced that it was prepared to pursue negotiations with Georgia, "with a view to the establishment of a union State of two equal subjects", the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/10)* on 6 January.

In a 2 December statement by its President, Manzi Bakuramutsa of Rwanda, the Council expressed "deep concern" over the Supreme Soviet's declaration and reaffirmed its "commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia".

The Council also called upon all parties, in particular the Abkhaz side, to "reach substantive progress" in the negotiations—held under UN auspices and facilitated by the Russian Federation, with the participation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—aimed at achieving a "comprehensive political settlement of the conflict, including on the political status of Abkhazia".

In expressing "great concern at the continued obstruction of the return of refugees and displaced persons", the Council called upon the Abkhaz party to take all necessary measures, in cooperation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, to ensure their "speedy and organized voluntary return".

On 28 November, Eduard Shevardnadze, Head of State of Georgia, in appealing for an urgent meeting of the Security Council, warned that recent events in Abkhazia might have "unforeseeable consequences and lead to further escalation of the conflict".

An earlier round of negotiations (15-18 November, Geneva) between the two sides, mainly on refugee issues and political matters, had brought "few substantive results", the Secretary-General stated on 6 January. "The political process is at a standstill", he concluded.

third round of inter-Tajik talks on national reconciliation, held from 20 October to 1 November in Islamabad, Pakistan. A protocol on a ten-member Joint Commission—five from each side—for the implementation of the agreement had also been signed.

The Council, in an 8 November presidential statement, welcomed the Islamabad accords and stressed the importance of "full and timely implementation" by the parties of their obligations, including those relating to the exchange of prisoners. The exchange—27 persons from each side—had taken place on 12 November in Khorog, through the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Secretary-General reported on 30 November.

Also by resolution 968 (1994), the Council decided that the UNMOT mandate would be to: assist the Joint Commission in monitoring the cease-fire; investigate and report on its violations; support the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy; and provide good offices, political liaison and coordination, which could facilitate humanitarian assistance by the international community.

In addition, the Mission was charged with maintaining close contacts with the parties to the conflict, in liaison with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Mission in Tajikistan and the Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, as well as with the border forces.

In urging the parties to cooperate fully with the Mission and ensure the safety and freedom of movement of UN personnel, the Council called upon them to "redouble their efforts to achieve as soon as possible a comprehensive political settlement".

Military personnel for UNMOT were to come from Austria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Denmark, Hungary, Jordan, Poland, Switzerland, Ukraine and Uruguay.

On 6 December, the UN launched a consolidated inter-agency appeal for more than $42 million to meet the emergency humanitarian needs of some 600,000 persons affected by the conflict in Tajikistan throughout 1995. ■

Acceptance of 'step-by-step' reconciliation welcomed

The acceptance by the warring Afghan parties of a "step-by-step process of national reconciliation through the establishment of a fully representative and broad-based Authoritative Council"—which would negotiate a cease-fire, establish a national security force, and form a "transitional government to lay the groundwork for a democratically chosen government" —was welcomed by the Security Council on 30 November.

In a statement by its President, Madeleine K. Albright of the United States, the Council also noted with "grave concern" the continuation of hostilities in Afghanistan, which involved the "suffering, death and destitution of innocent civilians". An "immediate halt" to those "destructive attacks" was urged.

All States were also called upon to respect Afghanistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity, "strictly refrain from interfering" in its internal affairs, "respect the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny", and reaffirmed its readiness to assist them in their "desire to achieve peace and tranquillity in their country".

The Council noted the progress made by the UN Special Mission to Afghanistan, headed by Mahmoud Mestiri of Tunisia, which had conducted broad-based consultations with Afghan representatives to end the factional fighting and begin the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

The General Assembly on 20 December, by resolution 49/140, urged all possible assistance for restoring peace and normalcy in Afghanistan, and called on all Afghans, especially the warring parties, to agree on an "immediate cease-fire" to facilitate reconstruction of their war-stricken country.

On 23 December, the Assembly noted with "deep concern" that the civilian population in Afghanistan was "still the target of indiscriminate military attacks by rival groups and of food blockades", which had caused a "dramatic rise" in the number of displaced persons inside the country.

By resolution 49/207, it also expressed concern over violations of the "right to life, to liberty and security of person and to freedom of opinion, expression and association", the "recurring violations of human rights specific to or primarily directed against women".

On 8 November, Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur Felix Ermacora had reported *(A/49/650)* the killings of "several thousand civilians" since January 1994 due to the "fierce military conflict". The situation of refugees in 1994 was "even worse than in 1993", with more than 1 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and some 1.8 million in Iran, he said. The UN Children's Fund stated that more than 4 million children had been killed during 14 years of war.

The "key to progress" in Afghanistan lay in the "earliest possible formation of the authoritative council", the Secretary-General stated *(A/49/688)* on 22 November.

Pursuant to Assembly resolution 49/140, a small UN political office to support the special mission and maintain continuity of contact between the UN and various Afghan leaders was to be set up in Jalalabad in the beginning of January 1995. ■

A session of 'imagination, creativity, solidarity'

Historic climaxes to UN efforts witnessed

Environment concerns at forefront

The forty-ninth General Assembly—in the words of its President, Amara Essy of Cote d'Ivoire—was characterized by "imagination, creativity and a spirit of soidarity". The session, which opened on 20 September and was suspended on 23 December, witnessed a number of historic climaxes to long-time, arduous UN effort, including the end of apartheid and of the UN Trusteeship System and the entry into force of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention, and focused especially on some important advances to protect and preserve the world's environment.

In a concluding statement, President Essy reminded the Assembly that its current session was being held on the eve of the UN's fiftieth anniversary in 1995, at a "time of change attended both by extraordinary opportunities for the building of a genuine international community and a number of threats which, should they not be countered in time, could introduce new rifts in the international community and lead to deadlock".

UN Photo 185740[illegible]

He said: "We are more than ever accountable for the success or failure of our Organization. We must do everything we can to push back the frontiers of hatred, intolerance, volence, exclusion and poverty."

Noting the "emergence of a genuine spirit of consensus", Mr. Essy reported the adoption without vote of more than three quarters of the 295 resolutions approved by the Assembly.

Historic actions were many: marking the end of apartheid and hearing the first UN address by former political prisoner, now South African President Nelson Mandela; welcoming the entry into force, after nearly three decades of negotiation, of the UN Covention on Law of the Sea; and admitting Palau as the UN's 185th member, signalling the end of the 48-year-old Trusteeship mandate.

And practical advances were made in many areas, particularly the environment. The Assembly welcomed three new global environmental pacts and designated the observance of international days for each: on climate change (preservation of the ozone layer, 16 September); biological diversity (29 December); and anti-desertification (17 June). Special attention was given to the impact of unauthorized fishing in zones of national jurisdiction on the world's marine resources, as well as that of fisheries bycatch and discards. Support for the new Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment (GLOBE) Programme was expressed.

International law was further strengthened through the Assembly's

adoption of a 29-article Convention on the Safety of UN and Associated Personnel, a four-part Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, and a Declaration on enhancement of cooperation between the UN and regional arrangements or agencies in maintaining international peace and security.

Final preparations were made for three major UN world conferences to be held in 1995: the World Summit for Social Development (6-12 March, Copenhagen); the Ninth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (29 April-10 May, Cairo); and the Fourth World Conference on Women (September, Beijing).

Golden anniversary plans

Special commemorative meetings were to be held in 1995 for the UN's 50th birthday—in June in San Francisco, the home of the Charter signing; and from 22 to 24 October (UN Day) in New York, where an unprecedented gathering of heads of State and Government and other high-level dignitaries were expected for the golden anniversary celebration.

Plans continued for other global meetings, including a high-level intergovernmental mid-term review of the Implementation of the Programme of Action for Least Developed Countries for the 1990s (26 September-6 October 1995, New York); and the UN Conference on Human Settlements—HABITAT II (3-14 June 1996, Turkey). To follow up on the 1994 Yokohama conference, the Assembly decided to convene, not later than the year 2000, a second world conference on natural disaster reduction to review the accomplishments of the Decade launched in 1989. A report on convening an international conference on migration and development was also asked for.

A decision was taken, in principle, to convene in 1997, if possible, the fourth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Three previous sessions were held in 1978, 1982 and 1988. The possibility of holding in 1995 a 25-year review of the 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was considered. The Assembly asked for consideration of convening, as early as possible, an international meeting on mine clearance to promote the work of the UN in this area. A moratorium on the export of anti-personnel land mines was approved.

UN Photo 185745/M. Grant

Assembly President Essy

The Assembly agreed that a third UN Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNISPACE) could be convened in the near future. UNISPACE II was held in 1982 and UNISPACE I in 1968. A proposal for a UN conference on South-South cooperation remained under study.

The end of two International Years—of the Family and of Sport and the Olympic Ideal—observed in 1994 was noted. The UN Year for Tolerance is to be observed in 1995, as is the World Year of Peoples' Commemoration of the Victims of the Second World War. The year 1995 was also recognized as commemorating the millenium of the Kyrgyz national epic, *Manas*—an 850-page poem reflecting the history and culture of the nomad tribes of Central Asia.

Plans for the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty (1996) included an in-depth study of the nature, causes and consequences of all types of poverty in developing countries. The Assembly proclaimed 1998 as the International Year of the Ocean. To mark the tenth anniversary in 1995 of the observance of International Youth Year, the Assembly decided to devote four plenary sessions of its fiftieth session to considering the adoption of a World Programme of Action for Youth towards the Year 2000 and Beyond.

International Decades launched

The Assembly launched the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004) and declared the ten-year period beginning 1 January 1995 as the UN Decade for Human Rights Education. It also approved a revised Programme of Action for the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1993-2003).

Working groups were set up on: the new "Agenda for Development"; the establishment of an international criminal court; and the UN's continuing financial difficulties.

The results of three major UN conferences in 1994 were endorsed: the 20-year Programme of Action and Declaration approved by the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, September); the Action Plan of the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction (Yokahama, Japan); and the Declaration and Programme of Action approved at the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (Barbados, May).

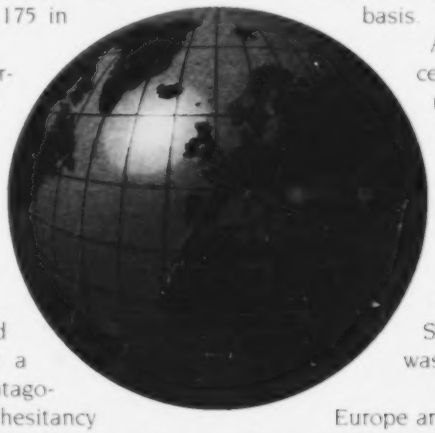
A Long-Term Strategy to Implement the 1982 World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons to the Year 2000 and Beyond, put forward by the Secretary-General, was called to Member States' attention. ■

Meeting the challenges of the 21st century

The United Nations, on the eve of its fiftieth anniversary in 1995, must adapt to developments in the world today, General Assembly President Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire told the world body on 12 October, at the end of the three-week general debate. Member States "must buckle down" so that "our universal Organization may be able to take up the new challenges of the twenty-first century; and so that we may be able to pursue even more effectively our mission as a unique and irreplaceable instrument in the service of, and for the promotion of, international peace, development and security."

The annual debate, which began on 26 September, keynotes the outset of each Assembly, providing the international community with a panoramic view of the world's pressing questions and a chance to reflect on prospects for the future.

A record number of 179 speakers participated, including 1 monarch, 31 Presidents, 14 heads of Government, 2 Crown Princes, 120 Ministers and 11 Heads of Delegation. The previous high was 175 in 1993.



President Essy noted that the international community was frustrated by "unkept promises about building a post-cold-war world of global peace and security", notwithstanding that some considerable progress had been achieved in the areas of democratization and human rights.

The proliferation of regional and civil conflicts being waged against a backdrop of ethnic and religious antagonism, as well as the "uncertainty and hesitancy that mark the pace of nuclear disarmament, give us the impression that the world situation today has become more complex because the threats are more diffuse", he said.

The Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Development" had rightly been acknowledged as an essential complement to "An Agenda for Peace", since "political instability and civil strife often have their roots in poverty and socio-economic inequality".

On UN reform, Mr. Essy noted that interest focused on the aspect of the Security Council's enlargement through an increase in the number of both permanent and non-permanent members. While such a development might seem inevitable, the diversity and complexity of the solutions which had been put forward made any decision on the question difficult at present.

Interest had also been generated by the UN's critical financial situation, with lingering peace-keeping operations and humanitarian needs taxing limited financial resources.

African speakers affirmed that their continent was "sorely tried by economic crises, natural disasters and forced migration", and could not afford to be marginalized economically any further. Poverty—a major cause of instability that generated conflict in a number of African countries—needed to be eradicated on an urgent basis.

Asian speakers were particularly concerned over problems stemming from regional conflicts, including those in Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Many asked Iraq to comply with Council resolutions pertaining to Kuwait. They also focused on issues related to sustainable development, destruction of tropical rain forests, disappearance of low-lying island States, and transport of nuclear wastes into their area.

Representatives of East and West Europe and other States felt dangers faced by the world today were "less stark and more diffuse" than those of the cold war, but "still formidable". These included: violent ethnic conflicts; continuing challenges of disarmament; transition to market economies; strengthening of democracies; protection of human rights; environmental deterioration; terrorism; and crime. It was widely felt that the UN was perfectly fit to act as the focal point in most of these endeavours.

Speakers from Latin America and the Caribbean stressed that there could be no lasting peace and democratization without development, and no development without peace. Poverty, unemployment and the lack of social integration were destabilizing influences that had to be dealt with. They welcomed the convening of the World Summit for Social Development and the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations and the Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization. ■

ALGERIA

Foreign Minister Mohamed Salah Dembri said that the holding of a fair and impartial referendum for self-determination in Western Sahara in conformity with the settlement plan was one of the UN's primary responsibilities. Algeria encouraged the UN Secretary-General to ensure credibility and the utmost probity in the plan's implementation, while increasing efforts to have Morocco and Frente POLISARIO create a political dynamic which could overcome all difficulties in implementing the referendum process and beyond. The return of all occupied territories, including Al-Quds al-Sharif, and implementation of the Palestinians' inalienable rights were prerequisites which should be at the heart of the desired settlement in the Middle East. The peaceful dismantling of apartheid was an example for other African nations "being torn asunder by fratricidal strife". The time had come for all factions in Somalia to "work toward facing up to the challenge of coexistence and national reconciliation in line with their people's legitimate aspirations".

ANGOLA

Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said that as a result of the war imposed by the militaristic wing of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), Angola faced a rather sombre future. There were 3.75 million displaced persons, more than 500,000 mutilated people and thousands of orphaned children and abandoned elderly folk in Angola. Almost all economic infrastructures had been destroyed. The international community should continue exercising pressure on UNITA's militaristic wing so that an agreement was reached in Lusaka to definitively end the war and restore peace and harmony among Angolans. African peoples still suffered the economic backwardness bequeathed by colonialism, and Africa continued to be the continent most affected by the proliferation of war and political instability. Most of the world's 5.5 billion population lived in absolute poverty, and needed measures "to counter the increasing deterioration in their social condition".

BENIN

Robert M. Doussou, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the revitalization, restructuring and democratization of the UN must continue. The end of the cold war had further widened the gap between developed and developing countries. "Above and beyond general political declarations, promises unkept and wishes unfulfilled, all the actors in the international community must by common agreement draw up concrete, effective and immediate solutions that will allow us to avoid chaos in the developing countries, in particular in Africa and in the least developed countries." There had been no concrete action, no funding for projects and no commitment of financial resources for the 1991 UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. The planned resumed session to complete negotiations on the draft resolution to create a diversification fund for African commodities had "remained wishful thinking". What was needed was: rapid and lasting solutions for problems of foreign indebtedness, more financial and other resources for development, new and appropriate technology, and a truly open and equitable system of international trade.

BOTSWANA

Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Permanent Representative to the UN, said poverty was an underlying factor of underdevelopment which many African countries had to contend with today. Regrettably, implementation of the structural adjustment programme, welcomed as it was in the restructuring of African economies, had in many instances worsened the social conditions of the poor in the short term. "The post-cold war era was to be the era of democratization, peace and development, so we hoped." Democratization had taken root in many parts of the world, including Africa, and should be celebrated. "Unfortunately, the energies and resources that the international community could be deploying to help buttress and nurture emerging democracies have to be expended on the search for solutions to a multiplicity of intractable civil wars." The expansion of and equitable representation in the Security Council had become imperative in order to democratize the body and make it more efficient and transparent. It was necessary to bear in mind the need for equitable geographical representation, which emphasized increased permanent membership for developing countries, particularly in Africa.

BURKINA FASO

Foreign Minister Ablassé Ouédraogo said Africa continued to be shaken by upheavals and crises of all sorts, and particular attention should be paid to them. More than the other continents, Africa was in an economic situation that was critical. Over the last ten years, its debt had been discussed ad infinitum, without being reduced or eliminated to an extent likely to allow Africa to relaunch its economy and structure its markets. The deterioration of the terms of trade and the loss of preferential markets were increasing the debt burden. Burkina Faso supported the Secretary-General's efforts to establish a fund for diversification, and it called upon the partners of Africa to play an active and positive role in that regard. The improvement of the economic climate of developing countries hinged on the growth of financial investment flows, transfer of technology, elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers, and just remuneration for commodities and raw materials. The "Agenda for Development" should integrate the strategies adopted by UN conferences.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

BURUNDI

Jean-Marie Ngendahayo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the crisis in Rwanda had had most regrettable consequences for neighbouring States—especially for Burundi, which had ethnic, linguistic and cultural similarities to Rwanda. He proposed that an international conference on peace, stability and development in the African Great Lakes subregion be organized as soon as possible. In the short term, it was a matter of resolving the refugee problem and, in the medium term, inter-State mechanisms should be established to safeguard peace, bolster stability and promote socio-economic development. Such a conference could pave the way for the creation of a more viable economic community and would help integrate "our States, which share an almost identical history, the same geographical space and, above all, an ability to communicate through common languages". Africa was the scene of the largest number of armed conflicts in the world. That political instability meant "we cannot tackle development in our countries, despite the vast natural resources of our continent". It was high time Africans stopped blaming their misfortunes on outside factors.

CAMEROON

Minister for External Relations Ferdinand Léopold Oyono said: "By bringing the question of the border and territorial dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon over Bakassi to the OAU and its machinery for the prevention, management and settlement of conflicts, to the Security Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, and to the International Court of Justice, which is charged with the peaceful and judicial settlement of conflicts, it was the intention of Cameroon to subscribe fully to the virtues of preventive diplomacy." Preventive diplomacy should be encouraged.

A new UN programme for the development of Africa in the 1990s was urgently needed. The African economy was essentially based on primary commodities. Any strategy for the sustainable development of the continent must consequently take into account the need for diversification. Cameroon appealed for a fund for diversification of commodities for Africa.

CAPE VERDE

Carlos Alberto Wahnon de Carvalho Veiga, Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, said the UN's reform must provide genuine political and operational consistency to all bodies and structures of the system, within whose framework Africa must have an appropriately expanded representation. Situations of poverty had assumed vast proportions and even critical levels in several regions, particularly in Africa. The seriousness of Africa's situation, the longstanding nature of the problem and the observation of indicators for future prospects deserved to be met as a particularly complex challenge and should never be considered as a pretext for showing lassitude or indifference. The lack of progress in Africa would be a set-back for all, not just for Africans. In the 1990s in particular, Africa undertook reforms and economic adjustments, as well as political and managerial transformations, in rather difficult conditions. The African achievement had not yet reached its optimal goal. On many occasions it was not adequately supported by external measures and resources, which were indispensable complements.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

President Ange-Félix Patasse proposed that the Assembly be decentralized at the level of each continent, and that it hold its sessions in New York only every two or three years, in accordance with a mechanism to be established after a study by experts. In that way, the other bodies of the UN system would also be brought closer to the peoples of the different continents. As regards the Security Council, Africa had achieved maturity and, with one third of the world's population, was entitled to a permanent seat and the right of veto. "Today, Africa has regressed. It is absent at the international level as regards trade and industrial and agroindustrial development. And yet Africa has a wealth of all kinds of raw materials." Contrary to other regions of the world, where there were clear signs of resumption of economic growth, the persistence of poor economic results in Africa remained a source of concern and constant disquiet. "What we need to save the continent is a real Marshall Plan."

CHAD

Foreign Minister Ahmat Abderamane Haggar said that on 3 February 1994 the International Court of Justice in its Judgment had put an end to the 20-year border dispute between Chad and Libya. An agreement on the practical modalities for the Judgment's implementation was signed on 4 April in Surt. In keeping with the Agreement, the withdrawal of Libyan troops from the Aouzou Strip had been carried out according to an agreed timetable and under the supervision of UN observers. All that remained to be done was "to make a reality of the border as defined between the two countries". Chad urged the UN to continue its tireless, energetic peacemaking and peace-keeping efforts, and asked the parties involved in any conflict to attach greater importance to dialogue. It appealed for a speedy solution to the question of the embargo afflicting Libyans, in keeping with resolutions of the OAU and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

COMOROS

Said Mohamed Sagaf, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said that in the regrettable dispute over the Comorian island of Mayotte between Comoros and France which started in 1975, Comorian authorities had always expressed a willingness to negotiate with France on the legal and practical modalities for the return of the Mayotte "to its natural community". Unfortunately, France was prolonging its administrative and military presence in Mayotte. It had also undertaken reforms and socio-economic development plans "whose clear aim is to separate for all time the four sister islands that geography, history, race, religion, language and economy had joined together." For Comorians, "faith and dignity have made this problem a cardinal point of our sovereign existence". The structures of the UN system must correspond to the new world scene. The victors of the Second World War "do not have a monopoly on the maintenance of peace and on the socio-economic development of nations".

CONGO

Benjamin Bounkoulou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie, said 11 Central African States brought together in the UN Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, had decided to create from among their armed forces a single peace-keeping unit which, once set up, would take part in OAU and UN peace-keeping operations. Unfortunately, the psychosis of nuclear apocalypse characteristic of the cold war had given way to a violent, deadly expression of freedom and of local wars in a large number of developing countries, especially in Africa. Economic frustration was at the root of those events. Peace and security in Africa and the world required a solution to economic and social problems. The increase in inequality between the richest and poorest countries had grown more complex with the emergence of worldwide markets, trade, communications—even pollution. "Africa, long relegated to the background, seems to have combined all the social pathologies that inexorably strike ever-growing and ever-poorer populations."

COTE D'IVOIRE

President Henri Konan Bédié proposed that as the cold war was over and the fiftieth anniversary of the UN was fast approaching, 1995 be proclaimed the International Year of Universal Solidarity. There was an exponential increase in the gap between developed and developing countries. While the former continued to enjoy rising standards of living and welfare, the latter were experiencing a more serious deterioration of their economies—if not generalized impoverishment. In the past three decades, there had been a progressive deterioration of the economic situation in Africa. The frontiers of poverty in Africa, as elsewhere, could be made to recede only if the international community, and in particular the UN, firmly committed itself to promoting development. The economic and financial crisis that Africa continued to experience since the beginning of the 1980s had led to a setback in growth in nearly all African countries. Their economic parameters and indicators were negative despite the bold recovery and economic restructuring measures that had been undertaken.

DJIBOUTI

Roble Olhaye, Permanent Representative to the UN, said a pervasive air of hopelessness and apprehension gripped the nations of the Horn of Africa, the urgency of which merited the immediate concern and attention of the international community. The Security Council had to be expanded and made more transparent and democratic by increasing its membership and by making it more accountable to the General Assembly. A more equitable geographical representation was critical, along with an increase in permanent representation for developing countries. The General Assembly must provide a more decisive lead in strategy and policy, in reviewing, in critiquing and approving the operation of the total system. The Economic and Social Council must remain open to receive and address the concerns of Africa, which should not be hampered in its effective and beneficial participation in the Council and its subsidiary bodies. The UN needed a well-trained, mobile, standing force with rapid deployment capability. Delayed deployment of undermanned and under-equipped units, as was the situation in Rwanda, failed to inspire confidence.

EGYPT

Foreign Minister Amre Moussa strongly urged all Middle Eastern countries to accede to the Nuclear Weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and accept the application of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards regime. He urged Israel to conform to, rather than depart from, the international way of thinking that called for universal adherence to NPT. The people and Government of Libya had the clear political will to end the Libyan-Western crisis concerning Lockerbie by putting the accused on trial and attempting to reach practical solutions for the implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions. Egypt stood firmly and clearly in support of the Sudan's unity and territorial integrity; it could not accept its fragmentation or division. It was unacceptable and unwarranted that the major Powers should impose a certain solution or a particular leader in Somalia. There was still an obligation on the part of the UN, the OAU and the League of Arab States to assist in achieving a just settlement to the crisis. Global stability could not be achieved without balanced and sustainable development.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Don Miguel Oyono Ndong Mifumu, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said: "In record time, we have seen evidence of many sources of tension and conflicts that wipe out many years of United Nations efforts. Everywhere panic and uncertainty prevail, owing to the intolerance and arbitrariness that are real threats to world peace. None the less, it would seem that we all want to close our eyes and act as though we did not know the causes of this instability." The causes were all interdependent: poverty, inequality in relations among nations, unemployment, ignorance, and political and religious intolerance. The UN was the ideal framework for resolving the difficult, delicate and complex problems confronting the international community. The Organization should, therefore, put emphasis on its efforts at preventive action, rather than those designed to restore peace or serve as a buffer.

ERITREA

Foreign Minister Petros Solomon said the impoverishment that stalked the Horn of Africa region was largely man-made. Decades of war and civil strife had sapped the energy, productive capacity and problem-solving mechanisms of the populations, leaving them easily susceptible to even minor imbalances in rainfall patterns and natural calamities. Hence, international emergency assistance and development assistance would remain vital for years to come in overcoming the consequences of decades of war and turmoil. Eritrea, along with its regional partners, realized that reliable and sustainable economic development would lie in effective regional cooperation hinging on durable peace and stability. In that spirit, they were prepared to pool their resources to secure regional peace through close consultation and coordination, and by broadening areas of economic interaction and cooperation. The international system must turn—obviously, at a gradual and measured pace—towards a fairer and more equitable representation of its constituencies in all organs of the system, especially in the Security Council.

ETHIOPIA

Seyoum Mesfin, Foreign Minister of the Transitional Government, stated that no African country could categorically be said to be immune from the political and social consequences of the immense level of economic decline. In Africa, where a genuine fear of marginalization in international economic cooperation had in recent years become the prevailing mood, much of the explanation for the scale, intensity and duration of the conflicts must be sought in the continent's continuing economic decline and in the consequent social malaise and hopelessness. Its economic history over the last two decades had been one of precipitate decline. All African conflicts grew out of the humanly impossible economic and social situations that provided societies with neither hope nor a future. What Africa had witnessed in recent years was the virtual collapse, under the weight of unbearable economic and social difficulties, not only of State structures but also of traditional values and norms of social organization. The UN, when addressing conflict situations such as those in Africa, should think and act "with the clear assumption that traditional notions of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking, although important, are not enough to maintain the peace and to make it durable."

GABON

Jean Ping, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the "Agenda for Peace" had outlined actions to avert possible conflicts, particularly through preventive diplomacy. Africa had not been idle in that sphere. Its major concern was reflected in the creation by the OAU of machinery for the prevention, management and settlement of conflict. In order to be more effective and to support decentralization of peace-keeping operations, such efforts could be enhanced through the support of the UN system. While African States had fulfilled their obligations regarding many initiatives, industrialized countries had failed to honour their commitments. Gabon was committed to the major principles of the "Agenda for Development". The new World Trade Organization must address needs arising from differences in the level of development of rich and less-well-off countries. Structural adjustment programmes had not always produced the expected results. Industrialized countries should support the efforts of the weakest and most disadvantaged in establishing a new global economy.

GAMBIA

Bolong L. Sonko, Minister of External Affairs, said extensive external debt and debt-servicing obligation continued to be important constraints on the advancement of developing countries. The situation was most acute in Africa, whose external debt as a whole had been growing by about 2.5 per cent yearly. For sub-Saharan Africa the annual growth rate had been estimated to be as high as 7.7 per cent; its ratios of debt to gross national product and debt to export were almost three times the registered average for all developing countries, making it the most impoverished region in the world. In real terms, aid flows to Africa as a whole had also been on the decline in spite of the substantial increase by a few countries in their levels of aid. Equally noteworthy was the failure of direct foreign investments to increase appreciatively enough to relieve Africa's financial crisis and stimulate economic growth. While the liberalization of trade as a result of the Uruguay Round might lead to a substantial increase in world trade and income, the impact on developing countries could be less noticeable.

GHANA

Foreign Minister Obed Y. Asamoah highlighted the need for UN restructuring. "In this exercise we must keep two things in mind. We must not undermine the validity of the basic principles of the Organization, such as the sovereign equality of States and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. Not even the current preoccupation with democracy and human rights should be allowed to erode these principles any more than is absolutely essential. And we must avoid allowing the Security Council to become the instrument for the foreign policy objectives of certain Powers. We must fight neo-colonialist tendencies exemplified in the economic blockade of Cuba and the questionable imposition of sanctions against the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. There is no basis in international law for these actions, which result in misery for the ordinary people of these countries and restrain intercourse between nations." The UN needed to be restructured in order to reduce the vulnerability of small nations to big-Power pressure and to reflect their increased roles.

GUINEA

Foreign Minister Kozo Zoumanigui said it would be useful to rethink the problems of peace-keeping, "whose motives and procedures for implementation seem very often to involve double standards". In order to give them the "desired legitimacy and effectiveness", such operations should be the subject of coordination and dialogue in which all UN Member States took part, "for collective security is the business of all nations of the world, be they large or small". While appreciating UN efforts in the economic and social fields, he noted with regret the absence of any significant results in the implementation of the measures adopted. The debt burden neutralized the mobilization of funding for commodity exports, which were constantly depreciating because of inequitable terms of trade. There could be no development if there was not an increase in income from commodities, whose prices were not controlled by developing countries. The quest for prosperity could be a danger, since it engendered a strong migratory flow from the South to the North. Despite the socio-economic changes carried out in African States to stimulate private initiative and cooperative movements and improve living conditions, Africa was still experiencing an unprecedented economic crisis.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Marcelino Lima, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said the Assembly's general debate reflected the logic of the post-cold-war period, in which the burden of blocs, ideological confrontations and threats of nuclear war had been lightened, thus creating favourable conditions for a new type of relationship between nations and peoples. The universally hailed end of bipolarization in international relations had brought about a rebirth of hope for a new era of peace. But the world was still the theatre of tragic and unforeseeable events. Africa was one of the regions that was most affected. Drought and desertification, which brought disorder to that continent, diminished its productive capacity and provoked famine, was being compounded by fratricidal wars. It was no accident that in recent years more than half of UN peace-keeping operations had taken place in Africa. The international community must promote more just and constructive cooperation between States to combat the perverse effects of poverty and improve material conditions in the most needy countries and among the most handicapped populations. Developing countries, particularly those in Africa, were faced with the problems of the outflow of capital and the deterioration of the terms of trade, which seriously compromised the economic and social development of the countries of the South.

KENYA

Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said the experience of Rwanda called for fundamental changes in UN peace-keeping operations to ensure an adequate, timely and effective response. Though peace-keeping operations were temporary in nature, the system of approving budgets for periods of one to three months, and usually in arrears, was cumbersome and compounded the UN's cash flow problems. As a country sharing an 800-kilometre border with Somalia, Kenya welcomed the international community's efforts in the settlement of the conflict, but was greatly concerned about the failure of the faction leaders to utilize the opportunities afforded by the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), the OAU and neighbouring countries. An influx of about 300,000 Somali refugees into Kenya had had a devastating effect on the country's ecologically fragile parts. Kenya appreciated assistance from the international donor community and further appealed for help in financing the rehabilitation of the infrastructure and the restoration of the region's ecosystem.

LESOTHO

Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle said that, as the UN approached its fiftieth anniversary, it faced a number of challenges; it had to become a real instrument of international legality, peace and security. It needed to have the means and the flexibility to play an increasingly active role in these unpredictable times. "Unfor-

tunately, however, the United Nations of today still reflects the structure of the world of 1945 as seen by the victors of the Second World War. United Nations organs such as the Security Council need to be revitalized and democratized so that they may become more representative of the regions encompassed in this Organization." The UN should have the capacity to respond to developments and crises rapidly and effectively as they arose. Today, conditions existed for the establishment of a stable and peaceful global environment. It was under such conditions that the world could begin to enjoy what might be called the peace dividend, whereby global expenditures would be shifted away from preparations for war and unending concern for national security towards investment in development.

LIBERIA

David Kpomakpor, Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government, saw the Liberian National Conference as the "embodiment of the democratic aspirations of the Liberian people and their opposition to the acquisition of power by force. Too much time, energy and resources and too many lives have been lost by Liberians and other West Africans to settle now for a less than honourable, just and lasting solution." In Liberia, the 12 September Accord caused widespread indignation, and was viewed as yet another attempt to appease the armed factional leaders, whose uncompromising stance had been responsible for prolonging the conflict. The Government had therefore rejected the Accord for a number of reasons, including its failure to address adequately political problems—disarmament and demobilization of the warring factions—the single most important stumbling-block to the peace process. It ascribed power and influence to armed leaders whose standing, credibility and control within their own respective factions were questionable. "We are ready for peace. We believe peace could finally be within easy reach, given the right mix of initiatives."

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

Omar Mustafa Muntasser, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, said, with reference to the Lockerbie incident, that it was State terrorism with which Libya was being threatened at the hands of a State which was a permanent Security Council member. That State had abducted Libyan prisoners of war from Chad and was training and equipping them to undermine Libya's security and stability. That was the same terrorism to which Libya had fallen victim in 1973 when Israeli planes had "intentionally shot down" a Libyan civilian airliner; and when the United States in 1986 had bombed Libyan cities while people were asleep, causing great loss of life and property damage. Libya had no objection to the trial of the two suspects. But the trial had to be fair, free from any emotional or media influences, and with guarantees consistent with the norms of international law, which Libya had observed and applied. International legality was something that great Powers paid lip service to but never applied. The three States concerned should be called on to enter into dialogue with Libya aimed at reaching a peaceful settlement.

MADAGASCAR

Foreign Minister Jacques Sylla said the crisis that had affected the world economy for more than a decade was worsening, despite a slow and fragile recovery in some developed countries. The gap between North and South grew wider, while inequalities between regions became increasingly striking. Poverty and extreme poverty were daily being ingrained in countries referred to as the fourth world. The situation in Africa had become alarming, and the crisis was magnified by the negative effects of natural disasters and civil and ethnic wars. Problems such as the crushing weight of external debt, stagnation, if not reduction, in official development assistance, financial and trade restraints and a continuing drop in commodity prices were symptoms of a crisis in development. While there was talk of the interdependence of problems, sectoral approaches alone were still used. While industrialized countries increased their independence in raw materials by developing microelectronics, developing countries were suffering the backlash.

MALAWI

President Bakili Muluzi said the priority areas for development outlined in the "Agenda for Development" deserved the political commitment, active support and tangible assistance of the international financial and donor community. The key and persistent problems of concern—external debt and debt servicing, poor access to science and technology for development, inadequate financial flows, rapid population growth, and those relating to women and social development—needed to be tackled head-on. Africa was particularly afflicted by those problems and deserved focused attention. The UN, with all its shortcomings, still represented a viable option for addressing the many political, socio-economic and other issues confronting the world. Working through the UN, "we can all make our world a better place". On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the UN Charter, "let us resolve to make the Organization even more relevant for the next 50 years. Let us work to strengthen the United Nations. Let us make the organs of the Organization more effective, transparent and accountable."

MALI

Sy Kadiatou Sow, Minister for Foreign Affairs, for Malians Living Abroad and for African Integration, asked if it was not time to collectively address one of the factors underlying the development of armed conflicts in some regions of the world. She said: "I am thinking of the massive uncontrolled circulation of small arms in third world countries in general, and of Africa in particular. We are all aware that very few of these countries manufacture arms. So where do they come from? How are they channelled? What can we do about them? In the view of my delegation, the answer to these pressing questions would make it possible to find ways and means to ensure that our peoples enjoy a safe and stable environment that will favour development activities." The development strategies that had been pursued thus far had not yet yielded the desired results, particularly in the case of Africa. Least developed countries must continue to receive preferential treatment in the implementation of new mechanisms designed to govern world trade. Transfer of technology should be in keeping with the aspirations of the countries of the South.

MAURITANIA

Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the international economic situation continued to be cause for concern for a large number of developing countries "that feel the negative impacts of structural adjustment programmes, which focus on macroeconomic equilibriums and display a marked degree of such indifference to the social cost of such adjustments". Of the 55 countries that had implemented those programmes during the 1980-1989 period, only seven had been able to improve their economic situation. During that same decade, a downward trend in per capita income was noted in 29 countries, while in 13 others there had been a real deterioration of social conditions. Development was the real guarantor of world peace. The miserable living conditions of the overwhelming majority of inhabitants made it impossible to achieve peace and stability in the world. Mauritania supported efforts to expand representation within the Security Council by increasing its membership, in line with the tenets of democratic transparency.

MAURITIUS

Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth said that, with respect to the question of the return of the Chagos Archipelago to the sovereignty of Mauritius, "a positive dialogue" had been pursued with the United Kingdom, with some progress. Africa needed a new order with a clear vision of hope that would ensure its gradual integration into the international economic and trading systems. Its marginalization must be stopped and reversed. The international community should support successful implementation of economic regional cooperation and integration programmes, especially the nascent ones in Africa. The UN should continue to have a central and important role "in the universal management of our society". In order to do that satisfactorily, there was an urgent need not only to revitalize the UN, streamlining its agenda, but also to overhaul its structures, bringing in more transparency in its internal operations and taking on board the aspirations of developing countries which constituted the majority of the world. Developing countries had a legitimate right to be represented on the Security Council's permanent slate, as their concerns were different from those of industrialized and developed countries.

MOROCCO

Abdellatif Filali, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said that the UN settlement plan for Western Sahara had entered the final stage of implementation. Morocco had cooperated sincerely with the UN Secretary-General, with a view to facilitating his mission and speeding up the ongoing process. It looked forward with optimism to the holding of the referendum within the next few months. Some enclaves in Morocco's northern part—the cities of Sebta and Melilia and neighbouring islands—were still under Spanish control. Since its accession to independence, Morocco had tirelessly asked Spain to return those enclaves so that Morocco might restore its territorial integrity and end that long-standing dispute. The ideal solution would be "dialogue, natural understanding and harking to the voice of wisdom by heeding the logic of our time and taking into account the interests of both parties". The Moroccan-Spanish group proposed by King Hassan II to reflect and consult on that question was the best framework possible to reach a settlement that might safeguard Morocco's sovereign rights and, at the same time, allow Spain to protect its economic interests.

MOZAMBIQUE

Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi said that soon Mozambicans would cast their ballots in their first multi-party elections. Given existing difficulties following 16 years of armed conflict, the fact that 6.3 million of an estimated 7.5 million eligible voters had been registered was quite significant and encouraging. A code of conduct on the electoral process had been signed by the presidential candidates, and a similar document had been signed by the 14 political parties contesting the elections that represented the culmination of a long and delicate process of implementation of the Rome 1992

General Peace Agreement. The cantonment and demobilization of forces had been concluded, and the Government had transferred all its military assets and infrastructure to the new army, whose formation was under way. Mozambique was emerging from a devastating conflict which had deeply affected its economic and social fabric. Its efforts, apart from honouring its obligations under the Agreement, were directed towards the monumental task of national reconstruction.

NAMIBIA

Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab said that on 1 March 1994, Walvis Bay and the Offshore Islands had been reintegrated into Namibia. Security Council Resolution 432 (1978) had thus been fully implemented. Diplomacy had triumphed over confrontation. A successful resolution of that issue had consolidated Namibia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and created enormous opportunity for economic integration, community-building and prosperity for the South African Development Community region. New vistas for trade, transport and communication had been opened up. "The southern African region presents a good example of transformation from war, conflicts, economic destabilization, political instability, social disintegration, suppression and denial of human rights to the new situation of peace, democracy, stability, regional cooperation and hope for a more prosperous future for us all." With the eradication of apartheid in South Africa and the installation of the first democratically-elected Government, the struggle for freedom and political emancipation in southern Africa had been crowned with a gigantic victory.

NIGER

Adamou Seydou, Permanent Representative to the UN, said Africa's economic prospects continued to remain mediocre. More than 350 million Africans, more than half of them women and children, were living in abject poverty. Paradoxically, Africa also showed signs of a vibrant continent capable of the greatest economic prowess, as long as the international community gave it the opportunity and the means to achieve its potential. As long as developing countries, and in particular those of sub-Saharan Africa, continued to devote the greater part of their income to paying off foreign debt, they would never be able to lay down the basis for a genuine economic recovery. Niger urged developed countries to cancel the debts of developing countries and if necessary to give priority to the least developed ones. Along with debt, the continued deterioration of the terms of trade was of great concern. "Colossal sums" were used to manufacture ever-more sophisticated weapons of destruction, while "in vast regions of the world millions of men, women and children are languishing in the most abject misery, engaging in a daily battle against hunger and illness". He concluded: "Give economic and social development that which is its due and there will be less to worry about concerning peace."

NIGERIA

Foreign Minister Baba Gana Kingibe said that regrettably, Africa had the largest number of refugees and displaced persons in the world. That imposed additional and enormous financial, material and social burdens on the already distressed economies of receiving States. Nigeria called on Governments to eradicate the root causes of the existence of refugees and displaced persons and to create conditions for facilitating their voluntary return to their countries. Africa continued to face grave economic difficulties, at the heart of which was the debt crisis. The perennial problems of declining investment, capital flight and fall in commodity prices remained. The international community's response had been feeble and rather inadequate. Africa must be enabled to make a fresh start to address its problems effectively through an imaginative solution to the debt crisis and the diversification of its economies. The international community should initiate bold measures to bridge the widening gap between rich and poor nations. "Affluence in the midst of poverty provides neither peace nor security either to the rich or to the poor."

RWANDA

President Pasteur Bizimungu said the genocide that Rwanda had just experienced rivalled the Nazi holocaust of the 1940s. The killing was intended to disintegrate the Rwandese people, and it had succeeded. "Now we must make a fresh start in rebuilding the Rwandese nation." By discouraging impulses towards revenge and in anticipation of justice that would be clear to everyone and was supported by the international community, "our Government has been able to contain a situation marked—understandably after such tragedy—by tensions and rancour". An international tribunal should be created in Rwanda to "enable us to prosecute in a completely open setting those responsible for the genocide. Since most of the criminals have found refuge in various corners of the world, what we seek is a tool of justice that knows no borders." The construction of a new society based on social justice and respect for fundamental human rights would be possible only if those responsible for the Rwandese tragedy were prosecuted. The Government encouraged all refugees to return, and also called on soldiers to come back. "Never again shall Rwanda be a terrain on which is sown politics of denial of basic human rights to any of its citizens."

SENEGAL

Moustapha Niasse, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said: "In the conflict situations on the African continent, today, more than ever before, machinery for the prevention, management and settlement of African conflicts must be implemented through respect for the various peace agreements that have been signed among factions that are, sadly, continuing to kill each other; our continent of Africa must be committed once and for all to the only battle worth the candle, namely, the battle for democratic development and the advancement of human rights." OAU had dedicated itself to that task and had done so persistently and courageously. It needed the international community's support. The problem of Somalia seemed more than ever likely to take another tragic turn. The time had come to re-examine the idea of convening an international conference devoted to that problem. The Security Council reform should be carried out with concern simultaneously for efficiency in the Council's functioning and for real representativeness in keeping with the new realities.

SEYCHELLES

Danielle de St. Jorre, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Planning and Environment, said the situation of small island States could, in many respects, provide indications as to the future of mankind. Because of their vulnerability—whether it be due to the fragile ecosystems, the scant economic outlets or the lack of human resources—any dependence necessarily impacted upon the very future of the societies concerned. Seychelles hoped for a change in attitude on the part of industrialized countries with respect to small developing island States, for it was the industrialized countries that would have to set in motion strategies and plans of action, which were the only real vehicles of change or of development. Two years after the Rio Summit, Seychelles was disappointed to see that the provisions of Agenda 21 had rarely given rise to actions. "In an era where everything occurs on a worldwide level, the individual and collective responsibility of States calls for a global approach and equitable sharing of the cost and moral investment the environment represents."

SIERRA LEONE

Abass Chenor Bundu, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said the attainment by South Africa of democratic values under a non-racial Government of national unity should demonstrate to all countries, especially in Africa, that "excuses for denying a similar transformation to our own societies are now untenable". The fact that such a man as Nelson Mandela could emerge from 27 years of imprisonment and, setting aside any bitterness, preach and demonstrate accommodation and national reconciliation should in itself encourage "our brothers and sisters in divided societies to forswear retribution and strive instead for tolerance and harmony". Drawing from the Rwandan experience, "the time has come for all of us, but more so for us in Africa, to come to terms with the diverse nature of our societies and realize that the denial by any group of the right of another group or section to participate in the life of a nation is indefensible and ultimately self-destructive. Peaceful coexistence of heterogeneous communities and power-sharing within a nation are great values we must all uphold." Unless and until the international community overcame the scourge of poverty and political strife, the global refugee problem would remain constantly with it.

SOUTH AFRICA

President Nelson Rorihlahla Mandela said: "We stand here today to salute the United Nations and its Member States, both singly and collectively, for joining forces with the masses of our people in a common struggle that has brought about our emancipation and pushed back the frontiers of racism." The victory over apartheid, the success of the cause of democracy, non-racialism and non-sexism in South Africa belonged as much to its people as it did the UN. "We have embarked on the road to the remaking of our country", based on the democratic Constitution and on the Reconstruction and Development Programme. "Our watchwords must be justice, peace, reconciliation and nation-building in the pursuit of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country. In all that we do we have to ensure the healing of the wounds inflicted on all our people across the great dividing line imposed on our society by centuries of colonialism and apartheid. We must ensure that colour, race and gender become only a God-given gift to each one of us, and not an indelible mark or attribute that accords a special status to any. We must work for the day when we as South Africans see one another and interact with one another as equal human beings and as part of one nation united, rather than torn asunder, by its diversity. The road we shall have to travel to reach this destination will by no means be easy. We cannot rest while millions of our people suffer the pain and indignity of poverty in all its forms."

SUDAN

Foreign Minister Hussain Suliman Abu Salih said the rebel movement, which was "hatched outside Sudan, has kept changing its skin, with different programmes and ideologies, in order to gain

support". The rebellion "thus became a pliant tool in the futile attempts to subjugate the Sudan". Under "Operation Life Line", the greater portion of relief was directed to the rebel-held areas, which represented less than 10 per cent of the area of Southern Sudan, "a situation which must be rectified". He underlined the "negative activities" of some non-governmental organizations working in the humanitarian field, "which go so far as to violate the national sovereignty of Sudan, and provide support to the rebels, thus prolonging the war and adding to the suffering and distress of our people". The democratization of the UN system must be accomplished. Africa, Asia and Latin America must be allowed more opportunities to have permanent seats on the Security Council. The veto power should be completely abolished, as it contradicted principles of democracy.

SWAZILAND

Prince Mbilini Dlamini, Prime Minister, said: "Today, in a triumph for the spirit of reconciliation, peace and compromise among all South Africans, we welcome the new, non-racial and democratic South Africa back in the family of the United Nations." South Africa's triumph was also a victory for the principle of universality, on which the UN was founded. Quite apart from the benefit of peace brought about by a successful political transformation, "we all look forward to enjoying the fruits of closer economic and trade cooperation with the region's most influential country". In Rwanda, Swaziland prayed that a formula for true, lasting peace might be found, and that the two peoples might be able to find some way of living side by side with each other. In Mozambique, Swaziland called on the leaders to allow the same spirit of reconciliation and unity that had brought an end to the war to continue after a new government had been chosen. Swaziland supported the growing call for an integrated approach to conflict resolution in Africa, which would bring close cooperation between the continent and the rest of the world by establishing mechanisms to coordinate their resources.

TOGO

Boumbera Alassounouma, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said Africa was prey to violent and constant civil wars, which endangered regional and international peace and security. "The continent, marginalized, awakens only the minds of the most attentive observers when, across mountains and valleys, they hear the cries of anguish and death. The cases of Rwanda, Angola, Liberia, Somalia and Mozambique suffice to illustrate this bitter fact. The defeat of the system of apartheid in South Africa and the tragic events in Rwanda illustrate the two extremes in the evolution of the African continent, characterized by the contrast between hope and despair, progress and destruction. While, at the present time, South Africa seems to represent hope, Rwanda, on the contrary, symbolizes the face of an Africa mutilated and ravaged." Faced with a situation of armed conflict, tension and insecurity, Africa must shoulder its responsibilities. It was through its own efforts that the continent would be able to overcome the difficulties it faced. Togo's President had proposed the creation of an African peace force to act as a buffer between belligerents. Reforms under way in the UN "must not become a means of conferring even greater influence than in the past on the large countries and richest Powers in the world".

TUNISIA

Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia said that this year, for the first time, a multi-party parliament had been elected in Tunisia. Tunisia had spared no effort in strengthening further ties with foreign countries. As acting OAU Chairman, Tunisia had the opportunity to work towards increased international solidarity and to focus attention on the situation in Africa. Highly contradictory images of Africa had been projected through the mass media. A negative assessment of the situation would neither be fair nor objective, without attempting to identify and remedy the problems. To resolve Africa's problems, an ideal path and effective means to aid the continent must be developed. In the area of political reform, Africa had taken promising steps, but not as many or as rapidly as it would have desired. Donor countries' efforts, which had fallen short of expectations, should be redoubled. Africa was fully aware that the responsibility for its development was its own. The burden of external debt remained the major obstacle to development efforts in Africa. The increase in African debt service, along with the deterioration in the terms of trade, hampered its development efforts. The importance of economic assistance to African countries must be highlighted.

UGANDA

Paul K. Ssemogerere, Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said a new South Africa had been born on the principles of equality, justice and democratic governance. The vision and statesmanship of Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the South African liberation movements, as well as F. W. de Klerk, had enabled the UN to achieve one of Africa's key long-sought objectives. Uganda urged the UN and the international community to lend requisite support to the OAU mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution. It also urged the timely and successful conclusion of the treaty on an African nuclear-free zone, which would be yet another important landmark for peace in Africa. Current trends in the global economy continued to weigh unfavourably on many developing countries, particularly in sub-

Saharan Africa. Uganda appealed to its developed partners to be flexible in negotiations so that the diversification fund for African commodities could be created. Africa had over 32 per cent of the world's refugees. Most had fled as a consequence of conflicts, mainly within nations. "This is a vivid, awesome picture for Africa in particular and for developing countries in general."

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

President Ali Hassan Mwinyi said that the emerging new power relations in the world could be either an asset or a liability, depending on whether all UN Members had the political will to enhance the representative nature and the democratic traditions of that world body. "If we all have the political will to reform the United Nations system for the better, we can quickly agree on enhancing the powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council." Tanzania supported the Canadian proposal to establish a permanent UN peace-keeping force. Poverty had been on the increase in most parts of the developing world, particularly in Africa. Implementation of agreements reached at the UN Conference on Environment and Development had been extremely slow and in most areas non-existent. The world was still far from the concept of sustainable development. "The Agenda 21 document remains an academic masterpiece while the issues involved remain unresolved." Unless there was a serious international commitment to extend the financial resources required to implement the convention on desertification, the social and economic consequences would be irreparable.

ZAIRE

Kengo Wa Dondo, Prime Minister of the Transitional Government, said it was high time that the international community moved beyond the humanitarian aspect towards a solution of fundamental causes of the Rwandese tragedy and its effects on neighbouring countries. Solutions should include: power sharing between parties involved; establishment of a multi-ethnic army; guarantees for safe return of refugees; and assistance to countries of asylum and of origin. "At the dawn of the twenty-first century, our planet is seeking a new world balance. Five years have passed since the struggle for world hegemony came to an end and the arms race became less frenzied. Unfortunately, the problems afflicting mankind remain unchanged: death, disease, war, famine, poverty, hotbeds of tension, and the tragic wandering of entire populations. The East-West blocs have been replaced by North-South blocs. The wealthy North is worried because the poor South is a threat to its serenity and comfort." The economic crisis facing mankind derived from fundamental inadequacies in the economic system established at the end of the Second World War.

ZAMBIA

Foreign Minister Remmy Mushota said conflicts continued to sap Africa's energies, waste its scarce resources and retard its development. They must be eliminated in order to create an environment conducive to economic and social development. Zambia expected the World Trade Organization to promote a non-discriminatory and predictable trading system and protect the rights and interests of developing countries. The implementation of the Uruguay Round must be monitored constantly to ensure that the interests of those countries were adequately protected. Compensation should be provided to those developing countries that were facing difficulties, particularly the least developed ones. In a number of conflict situations, poverty and deprivation had been the underlying causes. There was a compelling case to bring development and related issues to the UN's centre stage, in order to promote the cause of peace in its most comprehensive perspective. The "Agenda for Development" must be action-oriented and focus on the economic growth and development of developing countries, especially the least developed amongst them.

ZIMBABWE

Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira urged the big Powers—especially the United States—to adopt a policy of dialogue rather than confrontation in resolving disputes with smaller Powers around the globe. He said the NPT was clearly discriminatory and the nuclear-weapon States had not fully implemented their obligation under the Treaty's article VI. Also, the present arrangement in the Security Council, where Africa and Latin America are not represented at all amongst the veto-wielding permanent members, should not be allowed to continue. The critical economic situation in Africa—the least developed and most marginalized of all regions—had to be addressed if global economic growth and interdependence were to have any meaning at all. With 90 per cent of all poverty-stricken people living in developing countries, the issue of resource flows for most of these countries could not be dissociated from that of the external debt problem. New, comprehensive and coordinated approaches to the debt and debt-servicing problems had to be adopted, including outright cancellation or at least the application of measures proposed under the Trinidad terms for low-income developing countries. The international community should support the proposal to create a diversification facility for the development of the African commodity sector.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

AFGHANISTAN

Najibullah Lafraie, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said the Afghan nation was astonished at the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the world community to assist in accelerating the political process inside the country, in its reconstruction and rehabilitation, mine clearance and repatriation of refugees. The notion of peace and reconstruction assistance was no longer justifiable. The beginning of reconstruction assistance in parts of the country where peace prevailed would encourage and persuade those who were illegally carrying arms to abandon their weapons for shovels and begin rebuilding their farms. The present crisis in the country was not a civil war, but rather an imposed armed conflict fuelled from abroad. One fifth of the 100 million landmines in the world were in Afghanistan, a dreadful impediment to the return of refugees. Due to the internal conflict in Tajikistan, more than 100,000 Tajik refugees had taken refuge in Afghanistan. Sending Russian armed forces, especially to the border of Afghanistan and Tajikistan, would further aggravate the problem.

BAHRAIN

Foreign Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa said that the world needed an equitable international economic order to enable all States to reap the benefits of experience and great accomplishments in the economic field. In spite of economic disagreements between States, the situation would improve with firm political will and the genuine desire of all States to solve the economic problems of the world today. He was concerned that multilateral conventions concerning the liberalization of trade could be thwarted by the use of environmental issues as a means to raise protectionist taxes on international trade, with a view to reducing the use of certain commodities in world markets. To establish a new world order, peoples must come closer to and be better acquainted with each other, through cultural and social interaction, with a view to reinforcing the noble human ideals ordained in monotheistic religions.

BANGLADESH

Foreign Minister Mostafizur Rahman said his country's efforts at reform and consolidation had led to some positive results, with Bangladesh enjoying perhaps the longest period of macroeconomic stability in its history. Democracy had taken firm root in Bangladesh. The exodus of 250,000 Myanmar refugees since 1991 had imposed an enormous socio-economic and environmental burden on his country. The rate of repatriation was still slow and he hoped that it would pick up with the policy of mass registration carried out by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). There had been some improvement in its relations with India on the issues of the return of Chakma refugees and on economic interactions. However, the critical issue of sharing the Ganges waters remained unsolved. The growing divide between the rich and poor among and within nations was of central concern. The unabated development crisis called for urgent remedial action, especially to implement the 1990s Programme of Action for the Least Developed countries. Bangladesh was proud of its record as the fourth largest contributor of troops to UN peace-keeping operations.

BHUTAN

Ugyen Tshering, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that for several years now there had been talk of restructuring the UN. The discussions continued, but so far, little, if any, substantive reform had taken place. UN reform must reflect the perceptions and expectations of all Members. For many of the larger Member States, the UN was a forum in which to project and promote national policies. But in the case of the developing countries—in particular, the smaller Member States—the UN guaranteed independence and sovereignty and provided an opportunity to participate in international dialogue. The UN also provided both the intellectual and the material input required for social and economic development in many developing countries. It was clear that the General Assembly—the only forum in which all UN Members were represented—must be the main focus of attention. The relationship between the Assembly and other UN organs must be reviewed and put in proper perspective. Routine and symbolic resolutions must be dealt with efficiently, allowing the Assembly to focus on new and more important challenges.

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Muizzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yan Di Pertuan, said the end of the cold war had placed economics at the top of the international agenda. The challenge was how to increase economic cooperation through more trade and investment. The world needed a stable international environment to allow that to happen. The trend towards protectionism must be resisted. Instead, those who liberalized and opened up their economies must be rewarded. The UN and its specialized agencies could help. But the end of the cold war had stretched the UN's resources. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Somalia, Haiti and other trouble areas were consuming much of the limited financial and manpower resources of the UN, and that had reduced its role in promoting development. It was tragic that the problems of development were on the back-burner. That was not the UN's fault. It could do no more than its Members were willing to do. One way to reduce the drain on its resources was for regional organizations to work with the UN in accordance with Chapter VIII of its Charter.

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

CAMBODIA

Prince Norodom Sirivudh, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, expressed the warmest gratitude of the Cambodian people to the UN for its wonderful gift of freedom. After 23 years of war, Cambodia was now at peace and able to move towards development, social justice and prosperity. As a member of the group of least developed countries, it remained one of the poorest countries in the world and a large proportion of its people were saddled with crushing poverty. But the Bretton Woods institutions were helping to re-establish a solid fiscal base and the specialized agencies had almost all moved in to assist development. The constraints of distance, an infrastructure ruined by two decades of war and a continuing insurgency had hampered efforts towards reconstruction and rural development. At an appropriate time, Cambodia looked forward to full membership in ASEAN.

CHINA

Qian Qichen, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that elimination of regional hot spots and settlement of international disputes were a common concern of the international community. UN peace-keeping operations should be undertaken with the consent and cooperation of the parties concerned. No peace-keeping operations or humanitarian aid programmes should be permitted to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, still less to use force or become embroiled in a conflict between the parties. A lesson should be drawn from what befell the UN peace-keeping forces in Somalia. He favoured a complete ban on nuclear weapons and also wanted a treaty on non-first-use of nuclear weapons. In 1994 the world economy had started a recovery and East Asia continued to maintain a high growth rate. But there was unevenness in the world as a whole. It was disturbing that the impoverishment of some developing countries had worsened. In the interest of common development, he called for the abolition of protectionism and of discrimination in international economic relations and trade.

CYPRUS

President Glafcos Clerides said Cyprus was a test case for the resolve of the international community and of the UN to demand and enforce respect for its will as expressed in a plethora of resolutions. Twenty years after the Turkish invasion of 1974, the problem remained unsolved. The number of Turkish forces had in fact increased, and the presence of Turkish occupation troops constituted a serious threat to the people of Cyprus, and had given rise to a kind of arms race. If this "flouting and violation" of Security Council resolutions was allowed to continue, there would be no solution to the Cyprus problem. "It is therefore necessary for coercive action to be taken against the side that flouts the UN resolutions." He proposed that the leaders of the two communities renounce the use of force against each other. The Turkish Government should withdraw its occupation forces from Cyprus, as well as the illegal settlers. Turkish Cypriots under arms should disband and hand over their weapons to the peace-keeping force. The Turkish side complained that it had been isolated internationally. The responsibility for that fell not on the Republic of Cyprus or on the international community, but squarely on the shoulders of the Turkish leadership.

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Choi Su Hon, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the major stumbling-blocks to humanitarian exchanges, dialogue and contacts between the north and south were South Korea's so-called "National Security Law", which defined fellow countrymen as enemies, and the concrete wall, a symbol of division and confrontation. "All the legal and physical barriers must be removed at an early date if we are to achieve our consistent goals of free travel and contacts, cooperation and exchanges between the north and the south and if we are to realize national unity." The Korean Armistice Agreement should be replaced with a peace agreement, and a fundamental resolution of the nuclear issue was important in establishing lasting peace. To demonstrate the transparency of its nuclear activities, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) decided to replace the existing system of graphite-moderated reactors with a system of light water reactors, at the sacrifice of its independent atomic power industry. However, certain forces, which were not happy with a possible resolution of the nuclear issue, were still resorting to pressure and threats, while peddling arguments about so-called special inspections.

FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

Resio Moses, Secretary for External Relations, said the South Pacific Forum could increase the effectiveness of the region's work on issues such as climate change, conservation of biological diversity and implementation of results of the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States. He was relieved by the continued moratorium on nuclear testing by France and the United States, but was deeply concerned at the possible consequences of China's insistence on proceeding with its programme. He would not breathe easy until a moratorium on all testing was made permanent, and hoped that rapid progress would be made towards concluding a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. The Pacific region's vastness and seeming emptiness still made it an attractive location for environmentally unfriendly activities. Too often, when the island countries had attempted to halt movements through their waters of toxic, radioactive and hazardous materials, their voices had not been heard.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

FIJI

Manasa Seniloli, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that if the UN was to continue to rely on individual men and women to assist in carrying out its mandates, they should be provided with an adequate level of safety and security. Fiji had lost some of its nationals in various peace-keeping operations, and many others had been injured. But his Government remained unshaken in its belief that the price it had paid and was continuing to pay for its involvement in UN peace-keeping operations was worthwhile if it contributed towards making the world a safer place. Fiji had been the first State to ratify the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It was therefore pleased that 12 years after its adoption, the Convention was to enter into force. The Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks was also important. He was concerned at the long-term impact on regional fish resources and the marine ecosystem as a whole, if the current practice of uncontrolled fishing, especially on the high seas, continued.

INDIA

Pranab Mukherjee, Minister of Commerce, said that 49 years ago, a world tired of war had declared that it would "beat its swords into ploughshares." Instead, it had only produced words, while the swords had not disappeared. Global security demanded a "holistic" approach involving the promotion of economic and social development; protection of human rights; promotion of harmony and social cohesion in multi-racial and multi-ethnic societies; combating terrorism, drug-trafficking and clandestine traffic in armaments; and enhancing of the capacity of the UN to prevent conflicts, preserve peace and alleviate suffering. A global convulsion would come if the development imperative was disregarded. To give the Security Council's actions greater legitimacy, moral authority and political effectiveness, its membership should be expanded, with developing countries included as permanent members. On the basis of any criteria—population, size of economy, contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and to peace-keeping—India deserved to be a permanent member of the Council.

INDONESIA

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the UN system operated without sufficient coordination and coherence in the economic and social fields, as well as in development cooperation. However, instead of a proposal to establish an economic security council, he felt that the Economic and Social Council should be further strengthened. In the Asia-Pacific region, the Regional Forum of the ASEAN had been launched in July 1994 in Bangkok, reflecting the desire of the regional countries to ensure a peaceful and stable political and security environment for their peoples. That forum was unique because it was not established in response to a crisis but, rather, as an exercise in preventive diplomacy to manage strategic change in such a way that a stable relationship among the major Powers, as well as among the regional Powers, would evolve gradually and peacefully over the next decade. At the same time ASEAN was intensifying its efforts to realize its blueprint for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality with a South-East Asian nuclear weapon-free zone as its component part. Its realization would be a major step towards stable peace in the region.

IRAN

Foreign Minister Ali-Akbar Velayati said a few self-proclaimed victors of the cold war felt entitled "to dictate the new criteria that determine international relations and guide the United Nations and, more specifically, the Security Council, arrogating to themselves the right to impose their own vision and self-serving interpretations on the rest of humanity". The transformation of the Council into an instrument for justification or enforcement of policies of a number of permanent members was not at all compatible with the spirit of the UN Charter, and contradicted the very letter of Article 24, according to which the Council acted on behalf of the entire UN membership. Contrary to the assumptions of a few, the Security Council "is no one's private domain and should not be abused to revive the gunboat diplomacy of some Powers". A body charged with maintaining international peace and security must not be influenced and manipulated by those Powers that had historically sought to serve their own self-interest at the expense of international peace.

IRAQ

Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said his country was concerned with the nature of the current stage of its relationship with the Security Council, which was based on resolution 687 (1991). That resolution, which imposed a number of obligations on Iraq, had no precedent. Despite its cruel and extraordinary nature, Iraq had informed the Council that it was ready to comply with it within UN Charter requirements. Since that date, despite the harsh conditions in his country as a result of the total war waged by the most powerful States of the world—a war in which more than 100,000 tons of explosives had been "dumped" on civilian utilities throughout the country—and despite the effects of the comprehensive and harsh embargo, Iraq had striven to implement the resolution. Its request that positive and fair consideration be given to what had been achieved and that steps be taken towards easing the blockade had not been heeded. Transparent tactics had been used to delay and obstruct indefinitely the lifting of the embargo.

ISRAEL

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said 1994 had been a year of remarkable events. The Palestinian people had gained authority in Gaza and Jericho; Jordan and Israel had agreed, in the Washing-

ton Declaration to end the state of war and move towards an agreement of full peace; voices of promise had been exchanged between Damascus and Jerusalem; multilateral meetings had produced a network of regional cooperation. Morocco and Israel had established formal relations; and an agenda for a new Middle East would emerge from an unprecedented economic conference in Casablanca in October. The desire for peace was rooted in the millenniums of Jewish existence. Generations had prayed for it, and a young generation in Israel was today engaged in making it. The search for peace was shared by young people all over the Middle East, Arabs and Israelis alike.

JAPAN

Yoei Kono, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said Japan would remain resolutely a nation of peace. Neither possessing nuclear arms nor exporting weapons, it continued to be actively engaged in disarmament and non-proliferation and peace-keeping efforts. Members of its Self-Defence Forces, as well as civilian personnel, had gone to Cambodia and Mozambique, for example. The UN should focus its efforts on the maintenance of international peace and security, the resolution of economic and social problems, and the promotion of UN reform. Japan strongly called upon North Korea to engage seriously in efforts to resolve the issue of its development of nuclear weapons through international dialogue, including its talks with the United States. As the world's largest donor country, Japan continued its efforts to expand its official development assistance, considering such factors as trends in the recipient's military expenditures and efforts to promote democracy and introduce a market-oriented economy. The Security Council should be restructured and strengthened to ensure its efficiency and reflect world realities.

JORDAN

Prince El Hassan Bin Talal said the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, was now negotiating directly with Israel. It had been installed in Gaza and Jericho, and conducted its affairs as it saw fit. Jordan welcomed those developments and would continue to do everything in its power to ensure the success of Palestinian autonomy arrangements. On the Jordanian-Israeli track, there was agreement on modalities in areas such as water, the environment, energy, territory, borders and regional security. The 25 July 1994 Washington Declaration had ended the state of war between Jordan and Israel. A treaty of peace would open the door to cooperation at the regional level, so that the benefits of peace might be enjoyed by both peoples. It had always been Jordan's vision that the Middle East—"cradle of civilization and birthplace of the three great monotheistic religions"—should be a region of cultural tolerance and mutual interdependence.

KAZAKHSTAN

Foreign Minister Kanat Saudabayev said his country's three years of freedom had been three years of achieving real political and economic independence. Kazakhstan accorded priority to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Its President had proposed setting up the Euro-Asian Union (EAU) as a catalyst for integration and an instrument to prevent conflicts in the post-Soviet era. The first step was to create a common economic space by Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. As a young State endeavouring to resolve the difficult tasks of socio-economic and democratic reform and to ensure its efficient participation in the international division of labour, Kazakhstan welcomed UN efforts for the integration of countries with economies in transition into the world economy and for the promotion of their access to world markets. Kazakhstan had singled out environmental issues in its development activities, as it had been exposed to environmental disasters affecting the Aral Sea crisis and the Caspian Sea ecosystem.

KUWAIT

Nasser Abdullah A-Rawdhan, Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, said the Iraqi regime continued to be a "menace" to security and stability in the region and persisted in defying the collective will of the international community as represented by the Security Council. Iraq must unconditionally implement all Security Council resolutions relating to its aggression, especially resolution 687 (1991); and it must accept Council resolution 833 (1993) regarding the demarcation of borders between Iraq and Kuwait. Such acceptance should come in a clear and unequivocal manner, and be formally documented. Iraq should cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross in accounting for all Kuwaiti and third-country prisoners and detainees. All Council resolutions relating to the return of Kuwaiti property and to compensation must be complied with. Kuwait wanted concrete implementation of Council demands concerning the Iraqi armament programme, elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and the export-import permanent control system.

KYRGYZSTAN

Foreign Minister Rosa E. Otunbayeva welcomed the recently signed cease-fire on Tajikistan, in accordance with which hostilities had temporarily ceased and political prisoners and prisoners of war were being released. The restoration of peace in Afghanistan and the achievement of national reconciliation would bring long-awaited peace to its people who had suffered so much, and drastically improve the situation in the region, which was exhausted from gunfire and war and yearned for trade and a return to tilling the soil. The Kyrgyz Repub-

lic had consistently stood for a comprehensive, effective reduction in conventional arms. It was actively working on the conversion of its defence industry to civilian production. It supported initiatives by Kazakhstan on confidence-building measures in Asia, and envisaged the Central Asian region, located between two nuclear Powers, as an area free of nuclear weapons. Kyrgyzstan, a country in which over 80 ethnicities resided, sought to create equal and just conditions for all its citizens. There were no restrictions on the development of culture, the arts, education or media in the languages of all ethnic groups.

LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Somsavat Lengsavad said the inauguration in April of the Lao-Thai friendship bridge across the Mekong River, built with assistance from Australia, was an especially salient event in their efforts to strengthen regional cooperation. The situation in Cambodia remained the subject of major world attention. As an immediate neighbour, Laos wished that the Cambodian people could live their lives in peace, in an atmosphere of national reconciliation, and work for the reconstruction of their homeland. In Myanmar, efforts towards national reconciliation and the start of economic cooperation with the outside world were consolidating the stability of the country. In Laos, annual economic growth for the past three years had been 6 per cent to 7 per cent in real terms. Foreign investment had also considerably increased. Laos was making a major effort to achieve the goals set in its socio-economic development strategy from now to the year 2000. The question of drug abuse and illicit trafficking remained an issue of world concern.

LEBANON

Foreign Minister Fares Boueiz said his country's sovereignty over all its territories and its total independence would remain compromised so long as major parts of its soil were not under its control. So long as Israel occupied Lebanon's territories, despite repeated UN resolutions; so long as Lebanese citizens were still languishing in Israeli detention camps, ignored by the international community and out of the reach of humanitarian organizations that were not allowed to visit them; so long as that continued, "the wounds would not heal and the blood would not be stanched". Three years had passed since the convening of the Madrid Conference; however the basic principles, which should have been settled the moment the Conference was convened, were still being discussed. Lebanon wanted "a peace that allows for the return of refugees, rather than consecrates their dispersion; a peace that satisfies the revolutionary, instead of provoking him; a peace from which we draw strength; a peace we can protect; a peace that will, once and for all, relieve the world of this burden."

MALAYSIA

Anwar Ibrahim, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, said that at the Rio Summit, developed countries had declared that the tropical forests belonged to the whole world. Today, South-East Asia was covered in thick haze, as hundreds of thousands of hectares of virgin forest were burning and valuable species were being lost. "If indeed the tropical forest is the heritage of mankind, the responsibility for its protection must necessarily be collective." While South-East Asian countries would take the necessary measures, he appealed to the international community to help "put out this fire" urgently. Clearly, the UN as it existed today was unable to deal effectively with critical global issues. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Security Council remained paralysed in the implementation of its resolutions. Reform of the Council was necessary to reflect a more equitable geographical representation and towards making it more accountable to the general membership. Resistance from a few, whose own claims to being major Powers were becoming increasingly unpersuasive, should not be allowed to stand in the way of change.

MALDIVES

Foreign Minister Fathula Jameel said that for Maldives, the UN had always been and would always be the best hope for warding off challenges to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. It therefore fell to the UN to be the unequivocal guarantor of security and protection for those countries that lacked the physical means to provide their own or that might simply be overrun by more powerful States. Appropriate recognition had been given to the special environmental and economic circumstances of small island States in the context of achieving sustainable development. An important outcome of the Global Conference on Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States was a re-emphasis on the dire need of those States for the development of human resources. Maldives appreciated the tremendous achievement of the international community in establishing the rule of law on the vast stretches of the high seas, which covered two thirds of the surface of the Earth. The fact that it took 12 long years since its adoption for the Convention on the Law of the Sea to enter into force was a development that would be written in letters of gold in the annals of world history.

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Foreign Minister Phillip Muller said that his country was working together with the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) to introduce a new protocol to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. The UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks had recently completed its third round of discussions. However, since large-scale commercial fishing was a new concept for his people, the active assistance of the developed countries was needed to train them in modern techniques and preferential access to international markets was needed. He reminded the General Assembly of the continued

presence in the Marshall Islands of dangerous residual radioactive contaminants from United States nuclear-weapons-testing programmes. The fact that 67 atomic bombs had been detonated on islands inhabited peacefully for centuries was a matter of more than historical interest, "in view of the resulting legacy of horrific environmental degradation and tragic human suffering—a legacy that threatens to haunt the Marshallese people for centuries to come".

MONGOLIA

Tserenpiliin Gombosuren, Minister for External Relations, hoped a discussion of the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Development" would help in the search for an adequate response to persistent inequalities and imbalances, as well as ways to combat the abject poverty, external debt burden and environmental degradation that negatively affected the developing countries. He also hoped the entry into force of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea would facilitate the solution of problems confronting the least developed, land-locked and geographically disadvantaged States. As a country exposed to drought and desertification, Mongolia welcomed the conclusion of the negotiations on, and the signing of, the international Convention to combat desertification. Mongolia was advancing along the road of reforms, relying on the active support of the donor community and of international organizations. There was a positive trend towards checking economic decline and inflation and stabilizing the national currency. The role of the private sector in the national economy was growing considerably.

MYANMAR

Foreign Minister Ohn Gyaw said that Myanmar was a union of over 100 different national races. Since regaining independence in 1948, it had to face internal strife started by various armed groups. With the Shan State Nationalities Peoples' Liberation Organization, which returned to the legal fold on 9 October 1994, the armed groups in the reconciliation process numbered 13. Those groups were being provided with the opportunity to participate in the national political process—the National Convention—to shape the country's future. The evil consequences of illicit drugs transcended borders and their threat could be overcome only with effective international cooperation. Members of the Myanmar security forces were engaged in a relentless war against drug trafficking. They might not be wearing blue helmets as guardians of peace, but hundreds had sacrificed life and limb for a no less internationalist or worthy cause.

NEPAL

Jayaraj Acharya, Permanent Representative to the UN, said Nepal strongly supported an increase in the Security Council membership to reflect not only the increase in the general membership of the UN, but also the reality of the present world. It should take into account the contributions of Member States to the maintenance of international peace and security. All UN Members—large or small, rich or poor, powerful or weak—should have a reasonable opportunity to contribute to the Council's work. Peace-keeping operations were no substitute for the peaceful resolution of conflicts through political dialogue and mediation. Application of Chapter VII of the UN Charter should be invoked only as a last resort, fully respecting the principles of impartiality and non-selectivity. Nepal had consistently committed its troops to UN peace-keeping operations. Since such operations had become more complicated and more expensive in recent years, there was greater urgency to make those operations cost-effective and efficient. His Government felt that the death and disability compensation to all troops should be based on equity.

OMAN

Yousuf bin Alawi, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said his country had welcomed the signing of the Cairo Agreement on the implementation of self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. The Palestinian Authority was now a concrete reality, exercising its functions in the areas of education, health, taxation, tourism and social affairs. The expansion of the Authority's competence to other Palestinian areas in the West Bank would strengthen the peace process and contribute positively to security and stability in the area. The desired just and lasting peace would prevail only through complete withdrawal by Israel from the entirety of the occupied Arab territories. Another significant step in the peace process was the signing by Jordan and Israel of a declaration ending the state of war between the two countries and marking the movement towards a comprehensive peace. "We look forward to similar positive and important steps in the peace process on both the Syrian-Israeli and Lebanese-Israeli tracks."

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister Sardar Aseff Ahmad Ali said the civil war in Afghanistan had compounded the suffering imposed on its people during the long and victorious struggle against foreign occupation. The world community must continue to demand an immediate end to the hostilities. Pakistan and other Islamic countries were appalled at the Security Council's recent decision to ease the sanctions against Belgrade—the root cause of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. That would not stop the flow of military supplies to the Bosnian Serbs; it would merely encourage Serbian intransigence. "A grim and bloody struggle is also going on in Jammu and Kashmir. As in Bosnia, it is an unequal struggle—between the defenceless Kashmiri people and an Indian occupation force that now numbered 600,000. In Kashmir, as in Bosnia, the principles of the Charter, of international law and of international morality have been violated with impunity." Pakistan also welcomed the temporary truce in Tajikistan.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Chris Haiveta, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Planning, said allegations of human rights violations in Bougainville were an ill-conceived attempt to discredit the Government and the people of Papua New Guinea. The situation was not a colonial problem nor a problem of human rights as such. Nor was it a minority or indigenous people's issue. The trouble in Bougainville, stemming as it did from claims to compensation for the use of tribal lands in the process of development during a mining project, made all separatist claims ring hollow. Compensation claims were common in Papua New Guinea, a country experiencing a mining and petroleum resources development boom. The ownership of land in which the mineral resources were located was vested in groups of clans or tribes; while their whole being was wrapped up in the land and the environment. The determination of their legal rights to the benefits from mining projects was "a very complicated and sensitive affair".

PHILIPPINES

Roberto Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, said many countries, including developing countries, treated migrant workers as less than the human beings that they were. The UN could not allow the abuse of those "vulnerable and valuable" members of the human family to continue. He called for a global conference on international migration and development which had been supported by many delegations at the Cairo Conference on Population and Development. While the composition and methods of the Security Council must reflect the realities of political and economic power, the imbalance in its composition must be redressed and participation of the general membership in its decision-making must be increased, if its effectiveness and accountability were to be enhanced. He welcomed the creation of the Office of Internal Oversight Services and suggested the establishment of an independent advisory group to oversee its work and receive its reports. That would provide the checks and balances necessary in a large organization such as the UN. Closer attention should now be paid to the social component of the basic needs of the human community and the human person.

QATAR

Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassem Bin Jabr Al-Thani supported efforts to restructure the UN to make it more democratic and dynamic. It was concerned about the regrettable events in Yemen and had participated in diplomatic efforts to contain them. Qatar felt Iraq's unity and territorial integrity must be maintained. Iraq must commit itself to implementing UN resolutions. It must also recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait, as well as its internationally recognized borders. He sympathized with the Iraqi people and called for the alleviation of their hardship, taking into account the acute shortage of medicines and foodstuffs. He hoped that the Middle East peace process would achieve progress on all tracks, particularly those concerning Lebanon and Syria, and that national reconciliation would safeguard the unity, independence and stability of Somalia. The idea of a carbon tax, whether individual or collective, under the pretext of protecting the environment, was purely an economic issue which would harm the economies of oil-producing States, particularly those in the Gulf.

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Han Sung-Joo, Foreign Minister, said preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, both nuclear and biochemical, was critical for global peace and security. He supported the indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which had made an enormous contribution to international security. Its legitimacy should be reinforced through renewed efforts by nuclear Powers, increased international cooperation for the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and strengthening the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). A major challenge to the NPT regime was the North Korean nuclear problem, which posed a serious threat not only to the Korean peninsula, but also to the Asian-Pacific region and the world as a whole. The suspicions surrounding the North Korean nuclear programme should be completely cleared by securing transparency of its nuclear activities. North Korea should fully cooperate with the IAEA in implementing the safeguards agreement and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. If North Korea fulfilled its obligations in good faith, his country would do all it could to assist the DPRK in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

SAUDI ARABIA

Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al-Faisal said the Iraqi Government continued to defy international legality and to attempt to deceive international public opinion. In its last review of the sanctions against Iraq, the Security Council had decided to continue the application of those sanctions; that demonstrated that the Iraqi efforts to deceive the world community had not borne fruit. The signing of the Declaration of Principles between the PLO and the Israeli Government in Washington in 1993 had raised hopeful expectations, since it represented the first step towards the achievement of a just and permanent settlement of the Palestinian problem. While he welcomed the progress achieved on the Jordanian-Israeli track, he was concerned at the lack of clear progress in the Syrian and Lebanese tracks. The feelings of optimism and jubilation triggered by the victory of the Mujahideen in Afghanistan and the restoration of that country's independence and identity were overshadowed by disappointment and bitterness as a result of the continued infighting.

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

SINGAPORE

Foreign Minister S. Jayakumar said the world community and the UN in particular had relatively little experience in managing intra-State conflicts and intra-State peace-keeping. The dilemmas faced by the Security Council in dealing with Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Rwanda showed that the UN was still evolving its approach on how to respond to such challenges. On the one hand, the UN was criticized for not intervening in Rwanda in the earlier stages of the civil war. On the other, some maintained that it was not ready to shoulder the implied responsibility, after getting involved in intra-State conflicts, of nursing a country back to the political stability and economic health needed to prevent a repetition of famine, chaos and other troubles. Member States were recognizing that there were political, financial and institutional limitations to the UN. "We cannot realistically expect the United Nations to resolve all forms of civil wars within national boundaries. For now, we have reverted to the more onerous but perhaps sensible approach of responding to situations on a case-by-case basis. Inevitably, the UN would need to establish guidelines and criteria to decide where its involvement would be necessary and when it would be effective."

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Francis Joseph Saemala, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the five-year-old crisis on Bougainville, a province of Papua New Guinea, had spilled over into Solomon Islands and caused a rift between the two countries. Nevertheless, through a process of mutual dialogue between the National Government of Papua New Guinea and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, several important agreements had been signed, including the Honiara commitments to peace, the cease-fire agreement and the historic peace-keeping agreement on Bougainville. His Government had played a conciliatory role, facilitating the peace negotiations. It also supported the Bougainville Peace Conference, expected to be convened on 10 October. He welcomed the coming into force of the UN Law of the Sea Convention. Further cooperation was needed from the distant water fishing nations regarding sustainable harvesting of straddling and highly migratory fish stocks.

SRI LANKA

Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar said Sri Lanka's new Government reflected the multi-ethnic, multi-religious fabric of its society. In Parliament, it had the support of a number of political parties, including those of the Tamil and Muslim communities. It was well poised to end the conflict in the country's north-east part through political negotiations, as mandated by the people. The Government would pursue with determination its quest for peace—a just and stable peace, acceptable to all its people—undeterred by any set-backs. "As we see the end of the nuclear arms race, we do not want to have it replaced by regional arms races, whether to acquire nuclear-weapon capability or to achieve greater sophistication in conventional weapons." Sri Lanka had participated in launching the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and was encouraged by its positive developments of democratization and the adoption of market-friendly economic policies. The countries of South Asia, a region severely affected by poverty, had already taken steps to share experiences and work out common approaches, including the SAARC commitment to eradicating poverty by the year 2002. Economic inequalities and underdevelopment were at the root of phenomena such as massive refugee flows and even ethnic and other conflicts.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister, Farouk Al-Shara, said the possession of an overkill weapon by any State in a highly sensitive region was a major cause for concern. Syria had expected that its early signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) would be an incentive to Israel to sign and would dissuade it from possessing nuclear weapons. Regrettably, its expectations had not been justified. Syria accepted the initiative of the United States to work towards the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the region, on the basis of international legality, relevant Security Council resolutions and the land-for-peace formula, including a political solution to the question of the national rights of the Palestinian people. The United States had confirmed that it did not agree to the annexation of any part of the territories occupied in 1967. The land-for-peace equation must be implemented in both its parts. The return of the entire Golan was not open to compromise, unjustified delay or a misplaced testing of intentions.

TAJIKISTAN

Emomali Rakhmonov, Head of State and Chairman of the Supreme Council, said the people of his country had been able to end bloodshed, lawlessness and terror, and start a constructive life. They intended to conduct a referendum so the whole population could decide on the adoption of the new Constitution, which would provide a legal basis for subsequent democratic transformations and reforms. The results of political consultations with the Tajik opposition, which took place in Tehran in September 1994, were hopeful. The parties had agreed to a cease-fire, an important step towards national reconciliation, peace and stability in Tajikistan. The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border kept a vast region in tension. Central Asia's "fragile backbone of political balance" might not withstand the high pressure, and the destructive process taking place in Afghanistan might lead to a

"regional cataclysm". The alleviation of tension there would significantly and positively influence the solution of the inter-Tajik conflict.

THAILAND

Foreign Minister Prasong Soonsiri said the ASEAN had taken the lead in promoting political and security dialogues and consultations in the Asia-Pacific region by initiating the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which held its first meeting in Bangkok on 25 July 1994. Among topics discussed were the latest developments on regional situations and practical confidence-building measures for the region. Security in the final decade of the twentieth century went well beyond the familiar concepts of old. It must involve people—how they lived and how they exercised their choices. It should be security with a human face, because it must deal directly with political, economic, environmental and social aspects of life in a comprehensive manner. A UN "Agenda for Development" should not be given any less importance than the "Agenda for Peace". While development was primarily a national responsibility, it was also a shared responsibility of the international community. Those two intertwined issues must be the core of any effort to strengthen the role and activities of the UN.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Foreign Minister Rashid Abdullah Al-Noaimi said developments in international and regional situations over the past years had made it clear that radical solutions to regional disputes could be reached only by peaceful means, through dialogue and negotiation between countries, in accordance with the UN Charter and the rules and norms of international law. Although almost four years had elapsed since the liberation of Kuwait, the Iraqi regime was still being selective in its implementation of relevant resolutions of international legality, indifferent to the serious consequences. In addition, it was using delaying tactics and procrastination, instead of cooperating by releasing hundreds of hostages and detainees from Kuwait and other countries. The United Arab Emirates, with other States of the Gulf Cooperation Council, affirmed the need to uphold the unity and territorial integrity of Iraq. The international resolutions were operative and mandatory; Iraq had to abide by those obligations.

UZBEKISTAN

Foreign Minister Abdulaziz Kamilov said Uzbekistan had recently marked the third anniversary of its independence. A profound economic and political transformation was taking place in his country towards the formation of a socially oriented market economy. The Government had adopted a number of fundamental laws and decrees which were opening the way to developing entrepreneurship and privatization, including legislation guaranteeing the protection of private property. The process of privatization of State property was under way. Commodity, currency and stock exchanges, as well as real estate markets, were being set up. He stressed that his region was becoming a dangerous zone of open production of and trade in drugs and weapons. There were some influential groups of drug and weapon dealers interested in continuing the military confrontation to preserve their illegal profits. Uzbekistan was proposing for Security Council consideration the question of imposing an embargo on the sale of weapons and ammunition in zones of regional conflict. He called for effective measures to prevent illegal trafficking in drugs and to coordinate international efforts.

VIET NAM

Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam said his country, located in the most dynamic development zone in the world, was fully aware of the danger constituted by the widening gap between its level of development and that of other countries of the region. It was seeking to rapidly overcome its state of underdevelopment and had embarked upon the path of reform and renewal in every sphere of its society's life. The core of that reform and renewal was the development of a multi-sector economy operating through a market mechanism and employing State regulation at the macro-economic level. Viet Nam was also gradually reforming its political system in order to build a society in which the rights of each and every one would be increasingly ensured. It continued to move forward to establish a state of law, perfect the legal system and undertake national administrative reform. The lifting by the United States of the embargo imposed on Viet Nam had opened up new prospects for building and broadening multi-faceted cooperation between the two countries.

YEMEN

Foreign Minister Mohammed Salem Basendwah pointed out that throughout the ages his country had almost always been a single political unit. However, its people never lost sight of the fact that they were a single Muslim, Arab, Yemeni people, and never forgot for one moment that they belonged to one nation. Recently, an attempt had been made to ruin the institutions and apparatus of the State and to usurp the constitutional legality derived from the will of the people through the ballot box. Elements bent on separatism had stepped up their challenge to the point of triggering hostilities in the hope of bringing Arab or international forces to separate the combatants and force each side to withdraw beyond the old borders dividing the two halves. Their aim was to end unification, declare another separate State on part of the territory of the homeland, and thereby revert to the situation that existed before 22 May 1990. Today, Yemen had regained its stability and ensured its security after that ordeal, and had put an end to sedition.

EASTERN EUROPE

ALBANIA

Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi said that both Serb and Greek nationalism were "seriously threatening the Balkans". Serb nationalism had launched an "aggression in the north" and a "war to realize a Greater Serbia by creating a real holocaust" against the Bosnian people and strengthening "apartheid in Kosovo". The Kosovo issue was not merely and solely a question of respect for the human rights of the 2 million Albanians—it concerned recognition of their "political self-governing entity", for which the Kosovo population had cast its vote in a democratic manner. He insisted that the lifting of sanctions against Serbia be conditioned on the settlement of the Kosovo issue. Greek nationalism—while making territorial claims against Albania—was trying to manipulate about 60,000 Greeks living there as a means of destabilizing the country and achieving its "annexationist designs".

ARMENIA

President Levon Ter-Petrossian stated that his country had no territorial claims against Azerbaijan. The conflict was between the people of the enclave of Nagorny Karabakh, who were striving for self-determination, and the Azerbaijani Government, which was refusing to address those rights. His country provided moral, diplomatic and humanitarian assistance to the enclave's people and could not accept a military solution which could only mean their "genocide or deportation". There was a "historic opportunity" today to end the conflict, but that required active, unified support of the international community, including the deployment of "international security forces". Armenia, despite numerous difficulties, was currently implementing "significant structural reforms" to create a "healthy market economy", which could flourish in a stable democracy. Today, his country had more than 30 registered political parties, had proclaimed freedom of the press, conscience and religion, and had laws guaranteeing civil and political rights.

AZERBAIJAN

President Heydar Alirza ogly Aliyev said that the Security Council's strong demand for the "immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal" of all occupying forces from Azerbaijan had "so far been completely ignored" by Armenia, which was openly carrying out plans to annex his country's territories. Using the Nagorny Karabakh springboard, Armenian armed forces had occupied another six regions, "with a territory four times bigger than that of Nagorny Karabakh". After six years of war, more than 20 per cent of his country was under occupation, over 20,000 Azerbaijanis had been killed, some 100,000 wounded, 6,000 taken prisoner, and more than 1 million—about 15 per cent of the population—had become refugees and lived in tents. This was a gross violation of the independence of a UN Member State. Although the cease-fire had been holding, the situation remained complicated and the truce was "very fragile". Azerbaijan would provide guarantees to the Armenian population of the region; however, it considered its sovereignty and territorial integrity "eternal".

BELARUS

Prime Minister Mikhail Chygir supported broad cooperation and regional arrangements in such fields as peacemaking, disarmament, environment, anti-terrorism, drug control and industrial conversion. Peacekeeping should not overshadow the "crucial problems of socio-economic development". He favoured a UN conference on sustainable development in countries with economies in transition. For Belarus, transition to a market economy was "very difficult", especially in privatization, "fighting monopolies" and stabilizing the monetary-financial system. An "excessively large" military-industrial complex inherited from the former Soviet Union, long-term consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, and a severe drought had prompted his country to elaborate a programme of measures to pull the economy out of crisis. Belarus was the first State in history to voluntarily renounce the possession of nuclear weapons. Now was the appropriate time to delete "the outdated concept of the 'enemy State'" from the UN Charter.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

President Alija Izetbegovic said his country's "irrevocable objective" was a "democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina within internationally recognized borders", where the Serbs would have "all rights, up to the highest level of autonomy, but they cannot have a state within a state". The current war, forced upon his country, was "one of the bloodiest" in the history of mankind. From the very beginning, it had not been a war, but rather an attack by a well-armed and equipped army, against defenceless citizens. As a result, 70 per cent of the territory had come under occupation, more than 200,000 civilians killed, over 1 million—one fourth of its inhabitants—expelled from their homes; and hundreds of cities and villages destroyed and burned. The world had "not responded in an appropriate manner to such barbarity"—it seemed "confused and hesitant". But when his people, facing a "threat of extermination and a clearly pronounced death sentence", decided to defend themselves, it had encountered a "new absurdity"—the notorious UN resolution on the arms embargo. Justice had "turned into injustice because the aggressor had weapons"—stockpiled over 40 years—while the victim was "unarmed and its hands were kept tied".

THE NATIONS SPEAK

BULGARIA

Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov said that sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro had caused "significant direct and indirect losses" to Bulgaria. Those adverse effects had come at a time of major economic transformation, seriously distorting trade and having a "significant negative impact" on the economy, primarily on the emerging private sector. Urgent measures were imperative, and a "more active involvement" of international institutions and developed countries in, for example, financing projects for improving the transport infrastructure as part of the alternative road, railroad and communication links in Europe, as well as provision of better market access for Bulgarian goods and services, would be welcome. In that regard, the further liberalization of world trade and the implementation of GATT were of "paramount importance".

CROATIA

President Franjo Tudjman said his country had become a key factor in the establishment of the "new regional order" in Southeastern Europe, and a recognized and important partner of the international community in the resolution of the "intricate crisis" in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, split into two parts by the occupation of one fourth of its territory, threatened continuously by "outlaw terrorism", burdened by the social pressures of displaced persons and the "war-exhausted economy", Croatia could not "endlessly agree to fruitless compromise". The source of those crises was Serbian aggression. Since sanctions had forced Belgrade to end the war and isolate the Bosnian Serbs, it should also be made to "desist from supporting the Croatian Serbs", who refused to agree to the reintegration of occupied Croatian areas and "brazenly oppose" the implementation of all Security Council resolutions. Although his country did not want to be "drawn into a new war against its will", it would be "forced to accept it", if the world community failed to achieve a peaceful solution.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said his country, which participated in many UN operations, felt that a radical reform to "overcome the crisis in the financing of peace-keeping" was needed, and the existing arbitrary mechanism should be replaced with a system based on standard, objective and quantifiable criteria. An independent body to study the principle of a country's capacity to pay should also be set up. The growth in peace-keeping operations had increased the dangers faced by their personnel; therefore, it was "important to complete as soon as possible the work on a convention dealing with responsibility for attacks on United Nations and associated personnel". Improved cooperation between the UN and regional organizations was also needed. "Understanding full well that they all have different charters, characters and qualities, we still feel that a continuing exchange of experience can enrich the entire international system of multilateral diplomacy."

ESTONIA

Foreign Minister Juri Luik spoke on 28 September—a "day of national mourning" in his country. The night before, the passenger and car ferry *Estonia*, sailing from Tallinn to Stockholm, had sunk at high sea, with most of the more than 850 people on board "presumed to be dead". That tragedy had demonstrated beyond doubt that the Baltic Sea was a "sea of cooperation"—with Swedish, Finnish, Danish and Estonian rescue units working together, and Russia, NATO and countless others offering help. For the first time in half a century, his country was "unfettered by the problem of the presence of foreign troops". The UN role in helping to "remove the last vestiges" of the Second World War had not been small. The celebrations and commemorations of the 31 August troop withdrawal symbolized the "end of one era and the beginning of another". But the problem of Baltic security had not yet been solved, and one dimension of moving towards "bona fide security" lay in trying to improve relations with the Russian Federation. It was the duty of both sides of the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty to "seize the moment and make that peace again".

GEORGIA

Foreign Minister Alexander Chikvaidze said today's political leaders seemed to have underestimated both the essence and the importance of recent changes in the international system; hence the inability to cope with problems or challenges of the post- confrontational world. Newly emerging independent States, including Georgia, were taking their "first unsure steps" on the road to a democratic society, a long and difficult road in a world that was still reeling from the nature of the changes and that realized neither the extent of the predicament they faced nor the stake it had in their existence and stable development. Many of those nations could, unfortunately, be described as "hot spots", the "unhealed wounds that cover the body of our planet. These open wounds cry out for radical surgery, while the peace-keeping activities of the international community, despite its best efforts, tend in some cases to resemble cautious treatment with prescribed medication." At the heart of the Abkhazian conflict was an attempt to "wrench a piece of territory away from a sovereign State".

HUNGARY

Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovács said his country had a vital stake in the restoration of peace in the former Yugoslavia. The volatile situation of the "sizable Hungarian ethnic community" in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the interruption of traditionally close economic ties with its southern neighbours, and the serious losses resulting from the sanctions

had all inspired Hungary towards an active involvement in the search for a "durable and equitable settlement in those tortured lands". Committed to consolidating democracy and stabilizing its market economy, it would continue to serve the cause of international peace and stability, with special regard to the Central European region. His country was "honoured to act as host in Budapest" of the next CSCE summit, which was expected to serve as a "useful vehicle" in the efforts towards a "democratic and integrated Europe where rationalism may prevail over nationalism".

LATVIA

President Guntis Ulmanis reported with satisfaction that with the Russian troop withdrawal from Latvia and Estonia at the end of August, the Second World War had ended for the Baltic States. However, Russia's radar facility in Latvia and nuclear reactors in Estonia, as well as its "high military concentration" in Kaliningrad, were "risk factors" which potentially threatened the Baltic States. Therefore, security in that region continued to be a "pressing issue". With the formation of the Baltic Parliamentary Assembly and the Baltic Council of Ministers, a "balanced and active Baltic Union" had been created. Also, an "evolutionary process" towards an expanded European Union with a "dynamic Nordic-Baltic dimension" was taking place. His country aspired for a "three plus five"—three Baltic States and five Nordic States—model for regional cooperation in Northern Europe. With regard to peace-keeping, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had established the Baltic Battalion, which might participate in the peace-keeping operations of the Security Council.

LITHUANIA

President Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas—stressing the "harmony of dates" of the Russian troop withdrawals from his country on 31 August 1993 from Estonia and Latvia exactly one year later, and from Germany—said that Russia was also reducing its military presence in the Kaliningrad district, which occupied a "unique place" in Europe and could become a "stone in the foundation of security and an attractive economic partner or, under less favourable conditions, a source or even exporter of military threat and unrest". Lithuania—whose territory was "traversed by transit" to that Russian enclave—attached particular importance to its relations with Russia and was "not indifferent" to the future of the district and the Lithuanian minority there. Overall, it sought friendly ties with all its neighbours, but Estonia and Latvia were closest among them. Having concluded with Poland in 1994 a bilateral treaty confirming present borders, a "final rapprochement" had "closed a chapter of our common history".

POLAND

Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski said that medium- and small-sized countries were "potentially a great asset" of the UN, as they could play a "stabilizing role and exert an important beneficial influence" on developments in their neighbourhood, and "tangibly contribute to global stability and security". They could become "nuclei of regional integration" as they should "not be suspected of seeking to dominate or to impose their will on others". Poland saw its "role and duty" in global cooperation by developing friendly relations with neighbours, and promoting regional and international cooperation through such initiatives as the Visegrad group and its Central European Free Trade Agreement, and the Central European Initiative and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. "More power to the regions; more authority to the Security Council; more initiative and involvement on the part of medium-sized countries"—those were the "cornerstones and objectives" of UN reform. As a victim of the Nazi aggression in the Second World War, Poland wanted to close that chapter of history for all time by proposing the removal of the "enemy States" clauses from the UN Charter.

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

President Mircea Ion Snegur said that, in spite of reasonable compromises by his Government, "tendencies of separatism" still existed in eastern regions, and human rights continued to be "flagrantly violated". Members of the "Ilascu Group" were "still illegally detained", despite deep concern expressed by Moldovan authorities and several international organizations, including the UN. Also, Moldovans from the left bank of the Dniester river were "prohibited from using the Latin alphabet in their schooling". The separatist leaders from Tiraspol continued to obstruct the signing of the already endorsed agreement on the legal status, modalities and stages of the 14th Army's complete withdrawal, although Russian Federation authorities showed a "correct understanding" of his Government's position. In spite of "transitional difficulties", his country remained firm in its decision to develop democracy and a State of law with a market economy, through efforts to create the necessary legislation to promote reforms, including privatization.

ROMANIA

President Ion Iliescu supported the process of "integration at the continental level", through a policy of good-neighbourliness and regional cooperation projects—particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, the Black Sea area and the Danube basin—which should "accelerate the integration" of the countries of those regions into the structures of the European Union, NATO, the Western European Union and the Council of Europe. States and regions were all affected by ongoing tragedies in the former Yugoslavia, the Trans-Dniester region, the Caucasus, Rwanda and Haiti. However, there was "no greater threat" to international peace and security than the "widening gap between the rich and poor States", which could cause uncontrollable massive population

migrations from the underdeveloped areas to "much smaller zones of prosperity" in Europe and North America. It was in mankind's general interest to prevent such a prospect by eradicating underdevelopment and promoting the economic growth of the developing countries", thus turning them into the "truly equal partners" of the developed nations.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

President Boris N. Yeltsin said his country, having withdrawn its troops from Germany, Central Europe and the Baltic States, no longer posed "any threat to the security" of other countries. Although undergoing changes and "regaining its identity", it remained a great Power and was ready for "equal cooperation within the framework of the international community". Its economic and foreign-policy priorities, however, lay in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). It was bearing the "main peace-keeping burden" in the territory of the former Soviet Union, and its efforts had "not been fruitless". Concerned over the fate of millions of Russians in newly independent States, he proposed that the principles of the 1992 Declaration on the rights of national minorities be embodied in legislation of all UN Member States. He wanted a "solid system of security", including a "treaty on nuclear security and strategic stability" by the five nuclear-weapon States; and a conference on international cooperation in the field of conversion.

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan said that his country—now a "full-fledged component of the community of nations"—was interested in the "best possible relations" with neighbouring States. Subregional arrangements, such as "Visegrad 4" or the central European initiative, helped to strengthen the stability of the "geopolitically sensitive" central European region. Since the former Czechoslovak federation had been a founding member of the Conference on Disarmament, his country felt it was "truly a paradox" that a country where arms production had "decreased to 9 percent of its 1989 level" was not yet a member of that sole multilateral disarmament body. Also, the Slovak Republic welcomed the establishment of stand-by forces, would contribute army engineers, and had trained more than 1,200 UN peace-keepers since May 1994. It also had much to offer to developing States—experts, products and technologies—and wanted not only to take from, but also be actively involved in UN programmes.

SLOVENIA

Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek said his country—the only successor State of the former Yugoslavia "not directly threatened by the ongoing conflict" in the region—remained "vitally interested in the stability of the Balkans". The international community had been caught unprepared for the eruption of the crisis, and the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina had "seriously damaged the image and credibility" of the UN. Without the involvement of UNPROFOR and the UNHCR, working in conjunction with many humanitarian organizations, the "tragedy in Bosnia would have been even worse". However, humanitarian assistance alone could not be considered as a substitute for effective policy. The world community must seriously consider all means at its disposal to prevent a repetition of that pattern of events in other parts of the world, especially the "terrifying pattern of 'ethnic cleansing'". In less than two years of independence, Slovenia had achieved "positive economic growth", maintaining a "high level of social security and stability".

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski said that sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro had "seriously burdened economic conditions in the neighbouring countries", including his own, which was being "exposed to the classic economic aggression of a unilateral economic embargo" introduced by Greece in February 1994, in order to "impose its will in matters concerning Macedonian national identity". His country was a "factor for stability in the region", and he reaffirmed the positive role and contribution of the UN peace-keeping forces deployed on a preventive mission there—a "very successful action undertaken in the interests of peace and deserving wider support". A "way out of the historical frustrations and war" in the Balkans was possible only through a "new European model" of open borders, integration and cooperation. The "emergence of new divisions" and "regrouping along religious or ethnic lines" was the "worst threat" for the Balkans, which could not remain a "living relic of bloc divisions".

UKRAINE

Foreign Minister Gennadi Udovenko stated that a "wave of political romanticism" had yielded to a "time of severe trials in the political, social and economic lives" of the newly independent States. "The overall tenor of the mood of society in the post-communist world might be described as 'great expectations gone with the wind'." His country's difficult economic situation—apart from problems of transition to a market economy—could be explained by the "vast financial burden of nuclear disarmament and the eradication of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster". Ukraine had lost more than $4 billion as a result of the implementation of sanctions against the former Yugoslavia. Despite that and its "unjustified excessively high contribution" to the UN regular budget, Ukraine remained ready to cooperate as a major contributor to UN operations. "Appropriate protection and security" for peace-keeping personnel were "essential conditions" for such cooperation. Having "voluntarily and unilaterally" assumed the obligation of eliminating nuclear weapons in its territory—the third nuclear potential in the world—Ukraine had an obvious right to "reliable security guarantees" from other nuclear States.

WESTERN EUROPE AND OTHER STATES

ANDORRA

Prime Minister Oscar Ribas Reig said that his country—stuck like an "island in the middle of the European Union", with only 61,000 inhabitants, three quarters being immigrants—had three different educational systems: Andorran, French and Spanish. A study of some of the balances that existed there might help efforts in southern Africa, the Middle East and other parts of the world where people were struggling for peace. Andorra was the last of the four small, historically independent European States—after Liechtenstein, San Marino and Monaco—to have become a UN member. By their very nature, micro-States must have respect for "diversity and mutual harmony". Bigger countries could gain useful knowledge from their experience, built upon a "wisdom that only centuries can provide". In an increasingly interdependent and globalized world, micro-States were "not superfluous"—they could make useful contributions and be "points of reference in many cases".

AUSTRALIA

Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said the hopes for a new era of peace, after decades of sterile confrontation between the super-Powers, seemed not much closer to being realized, with "a long string of deadly conflicts within State borders, tearing existing States apart and far exceeding the threats to peace posed by conflict between States". These conflicts were marked by "extreme savagery, each day offering new evidence of how cruel and dangerous a place the world remains for so many." Their combined impact had had "a corrosive effect" on the UN's standing. "Pictures of Blue Helmets standing by, unable to prevent conflict and impotent to save life, have become a media cliché." The role that the UN system had played in its economic, social and humanitarian work, in responding to the "silent emergencies" of poverty and deprivation, had been overshadowed by the public image of an organization failing to meet its responsibilities and unequal to the challenges. "Some of this imagery is deeply unfair", not taking account of innumerable constraints faced by the UN.

AUSTRIA

Alois Mock, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that with the emergence of new areas for UN activities in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Vienna saw itself as an important point for coordinating activities to support and assist those States as they moved "towards democracy, a state of law and a market economy". Within the framework of the UN's 50th anniversary, a high-level conference—devoted to consider measures to preserve peace—would be held in Vienna in March 1995. Favouring "stepping up" UN activities in preventive diplomacy, his Government had established a centre for civilian peace-keeping operations in Schlaining, as well as a training programme for civilian international operations relating to peace-keeping and peace-building. As host to the International Atomic Energy Agency, Austria wanted an "unconditional and unrestricted extension" of the Non-Proliferation Treaty at the 1995 Review Conference.

BELGIUM

Willy Claes, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, highlighted "four principles" of peace-keeping operations. First, such operations could not be improvised; the UN must at all times be able to mobilize means for a new operation; its launching should be seriously considered only after all other means of solving the crisis had been exhausted. Second, it must be based on the consent of the parties—which must agree to the operation's deployment and aims, except in the case of an "obvious humanitarian catastrophe"—and on consensus among States legitimately involved. Third, cohesion of the command and control structures and regular consultations with troop-contributing countries were essential. Fourth, the security of the Blue Helmets should be ensured, and prosecution of those attacking peace-keeping forces must be efficiently organized. The International Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia might be a "valuable precedent" for dealing with crimes committed in Rwanda.

CANADA

Foreign Minister André Ouellet believed that the Security Council was "on the right track" in solving conflicts, and his country's "tangible contribution" to UN operations—more than 2,600 soldiers and civilian police in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda—reflected that conviction. The UN capacity for preventive action and its "rapid-intervention capability" must be strengthened. It should be able to count on qualified human resources, available on short notice, to complement its own personnel. Creation of a "permanent UN military force" must be considered. Canada would open a "centre for peace-keeping research and training", named for Lester B. Pearson. An in-depth review of UN economic and social activities was needed. The 1995 Group of Seven summit, to be held in Halifax, was to consider those issues, including the role and mandate of multilateral formal institutions, such as Bretton Woods. The Council must make its working methods "more transparent", more receptive to the special concerns of non-member States.

DENMARK

Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen said his Government was proud to host in March 1995 the World Summit for Social Development, whose challenge was to "create new foundations of peace through development". The Summit presented a "unique chance to overcome the North-South divide through new

approaches", and an "opportunity for world leaders" to commit themselves and their Governments to a "better and more just world". The international community must "eradicate poverty and enable all people to earn a livelihood", and promote social integration by "fostering just, safe and stable societies with the full participation of all people". The establishment of UN standby forces would enhance its ability to respond quickly to emerging crises. Denmark, while setting up an "international brigade for that purpose", favoured a combination of peace-keeping and humanitarian relief operations. With 1,400 troops, civilian police and monitors in the former Yugoslavia, it was "one of the largest troop contributors" to UNPROFOR.

FINLAND

Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto said it was "dangerous and fallacious" to think that the UN could or should "always step in to rectify irresponsible actions and policies", nor could it be expected to be "present forever in conflict areas". The world body would never have enough resources to meet all demands, and the community of nations must be able to "prevent fires before they start". Too often, conflicts erupted because of a lack of preventive action and "misperceived faith" in the UN's readiness and ability to step in. The world was increasingly challenged by complex emergencies, that included political, military and humanitarian concerns, which could not be addressed through traditional peace-keeping efforts alone. A comprehensive approach and sustained efforts by States concerned, as well as assistance of regional organizations and arrangements, were required. Unfortunately, there was a lack of commitment to the UN by some Member States, without which it could not truly be a centre for international conciliation and cooperation.

FRANCE

Foreign Minister Alain Juppé said that during the darkest years of the Second World War, General De Gaulle had spoken of the need to establish a world order "that could guarantee the security of all, to make rational use of all the world's riches and to bring together all the people on the face of the Earth. The time has come for us to rediscover the ideal that inspired the generation of the founders and to ask ourselves with clarity what means are necessary to implement it." Almost everywhere "we are seeing the positive movement of nation-States into groups. France has made the building up of Europe one of the pillars of its foreign policy. How could it not, then, encourage the formation of new areas of solidarity?" The experience of rebuilding Europe, which began 40 years ago, was a case in point. "It has done more than just do away with the age-old rivalries that had led to two world wars. In the western part of the European continent, economic integration and political cooperation have attained a level that is unmatched in the world." Europe today was a world power, assuming international responsibilities, actively supporting peace processes around the world.

GERMANY

Klaus Kinkel, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs, also speaking on behalf of the European Union, said Europe had become more closely integrated as a result of the Maastricht Treaty, and intended to broaden its cooperation, based on partnership, with the world's other regions as well. "I am speaking for a Europe that is committed to world peace and development and whose political actions are determined by its belief in individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law; a Europe which sees in the realization of justice a crucial precondition for avoiding war and the use of force and which is prepared to play its part in promoting the economic development of all regions, the struggle against hunger, and measures to protect the Earth's natural sources of life. But I am speaking above all on behalf of a Europe that wishes to place the UN in a better position to meet its foremost obligation as guarantor of world peace and security.

GREECE

Foreign Minister Karolas Papoulias said his country could not accept the insistence of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on calling itself "Macedonia", because—together with "appropriation of Greek national and historical emblems"—that indicated "irredentist claims" against Greece. He hoped that the good offices of Cyrus Vance would "soon bear fruit". A normalization of Greek-Turkish relations presupposed a "just and lasting solution" to the Cyprus problem and the "restoration of the rule of international law", the only possible basis for establishing and consolidating a "climate of mutual trust" between Greece and Turkey. If the Secretary-General's current efforts were not successful, the world community would have to consider "new, alternative methods and measures" to ensure the implementation of UN resolutions calling for restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus. Deprived by Albania's previous regime of all fundamental rights, the Greek minority faced the same policies from the new Government. Greece urged Albania to respect human rights and wanted good-neighbourly relations with that country.

ICELAND

Permanent Representative Gunnar Palsson was particularly concerned over the "deteriorating condition of the world's oceans", as the ecosystem of the sea was "now in greater danger than ever before" from pollution and overfishing. A "hopeful sign" was increasing awareness of the importance of sustainable use of the

sea's resources. Since the poorest two thirds of the world's population got about 40 per cent of its protein from fish, food production must "more than double just to keep pace with the growth in demand in the decades ahead". The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea had "extended the rule of law to over two thirds of the Earth's surface, contributing "more than any single undertaking to the furtherance of that goal". Also needed was the universal acceptance of the "sovereignty of the coastal State over its adjacent waters". An international regime governing all aspects of utilization of living marine resources could best be achieved by setting up regional fisheries management organizations.

IRELAND

Dick Spring, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that the "complete cessation of military operations", announced by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in August, opened the prospect of a peaceful resolution of the Northern Ireland conflict. Although the edifice of a solution still remained to be constructed, solid foundations had been laid. At the conflict's origin lay a "difference of view as to whether the partition of Ireland earlier this century was or was not a denial of the right of the Irish people to self-determination". That difference had been "passionately and violently acted out by two communities" in Northern Ireland. The December 1993 British-Irish Joint Declaration had offered all the parties a "compelling political alternative to the endless cycle of bloodshed and retribution". Ireland was establishing a Forum for Peace and Reconciliation to enable all democratic parties to recommend ways to promote "agreement and trust between the two traditions".

ITALY

Foreign Minister Antonio Martino said in today's world trade united peoples, while politics divided them. At the Naples G-7 Summit, his country had strongly advocated the "further dismantling of barriers" to world trade in order to foster the creation of wealth. Nations required opening of markets and liberalization of trade. That would be the role of the World Trade Organization. "Without impinging on the statutory powers" of the Security Council, primary responsibility should be attributed to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) for issues concerning stability and security in its area. Peacekeeping required closer cooperation, and the UN and the CSCE should adopt a standard set of principles for such activities undertaken by individual States or third parties. Italy participated in eight UN missions. The strengthening of international security was closely related to the "fight against terrorism and organized crime". Italy would host in November in Naples the ministerial World Conference on Organized Transnational Crime.

LIECHTENSTEIN

Andrea Willi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Culture, Youth and Sports, said the World Summit for Social Development "can be a crucial event for the future of mankind, and we must not miss this opportunity to promote social progress and better standards of living in greater freedom". Her country felt that preventive diplomacy could and should be used more often and more efficiently, and "commended the activities of the CSCE. The UN was playing a more active role than ever before in conflict resolution. Unfortunately, the "sheer number and magnitude" of conflicts surpassed the abilities of the Organization. "There is no region in the world without a conflict of some sort; regional conflicts have become a major threat to international peace and security". UN peace-keeping operations had to have clear mandates and reasonable and realistic time-frames. International law was the best guarantee of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as of international peace and security. For her country, it was "also the only guarantee".

LUXEMBOURG

Jacques Poos, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade and Cooperation, said world security was "increasingly indivisible" and the links between development, economic growth, environmental protection and population movements, could not be disregarded. Luxembourg's "vision of the future" could not merely accept "poverty and privation in far too many parts of the world, where populations are deprived of their fundamental right to food and education and even to water, health and a roof over their heads". His Government wanted to double, by the year 2000, the percentage of its gross national product earmarked for official development assistance, to reach the target of 0.7 per cent. The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a State should "no longer serve as a shield for flagrant and massive violations of human rights". The UN was the ideal forum to "carry on the quest for lasting development" and meet today's "true challenge", which was the "agenda for humanity".

MALTA

Guido de Marco, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said many representatives had acknowledged his country's role in "launching the concept of common heritage"—a "guiding principle" in many international conventions—on the signing of an agreement on deep seabed mining provisions of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. A "unit to coordinate and monitor areas related to the common heritage" was needed. Rather than reinventing the wheel, Malta was proposing a "transition and evolution" in the role of the Trusteeship Council, which could be such a "point of convergence". The concept of trust should be applied to new realities. The UN held "in trust for humanity its common heritage and its common concerns": the environment; natural resources; climate; rights of future generations; and the "safeguarding of the rights of peoples in situations of complete breakdown of the organs of the State". The "Mediterranean dimension" today was high on the international agenda.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

MONACO

Crown Prince Albert suggested adoption of a "convention-based instrument" to protect civilian populations in ethnic and civil conflicts—such as those in Bosnia and Herzegovina or Rwanda—through which States parties would undertake in advance the establishment of "protection and security areas reserved for defenceless children, women and the elderly". While protecting innocent civilians, the world community should not neglect future generations. It must stop depleting the Earth's natural resources and damaging the environment. By nature of its maritime traditions, Monaco had always stressed the protection of the marine environment and in that respect, a "cooperative undertaking" with the UN—an "international marine radioactivity laboratory" established under an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)—had existed since 1961. It also welcomed the conclusion of an agreement on deep seabed mining. Only world cooperation—finding the "right formulae to accommodate the interests of all by preserving the general interest"—would help meet those tremendous challenges of the future.

NETHERLANDS

Foreign Minister Hans Van Mierlo welcomed the establishment of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the start of a "broad discussion on a future tribunal for Rwanda". His country strongly supported the "early establishment of an international criminal court" to exercise jurisdiction with regard to "serious crimes of international concern". The introduction of a draft statute for such a court had been a "major step forward". Punishment of war criminals and "ethnic cleansers" was "not a matter of revenge", but a matter of justice and deterrence, because "impunity encourages future crimes against humanity". Unfortunately, the world community had "failed to stop the breakdown of civil society and the descent into barbarity". Such failures undermined people's belief in the authority of the UN, in regional organizations and Governments, and in public authority as such. Establishment of a professional and rapidly deployable UN brigade—a "United Nations Legion"—should be considered.

NEW ZEALAND

Donald Charles McKinnon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, said at the outset of a crisis, "more serious efforts" through preventive diplomacy were needed. When disputes were first placed before the Security Council, affected States should be given an "adequate hearing before addressing the problem behind closed doors". Also, six elements were crucial: a sustainable financial system; a transparent political accountability; clear objectives incorporating regular reviews; a clear, unambiguous command and control structure; a credible legal regime guaranteeing the security of UN personnel; and the availability of resources so that objectives could be met quickly and efficiently. His country—whose defense personnel were actively "engaged in peace-support operations"—believed that collective security was the "cornerstone of the security of small States". A problem in any part of the world could "ripple to the Earth's farthest corners".

NORWAY

Foreign Minister Bjorn Tore Godal said that it was important that the UN capability for conducting peace-keeping operations be continuously enhanced. He referred to the Nordic countries' initiative on strengthening UN command and control capabilities on which progress had been made over the last year. A year to the day after signing the Declaration of Principles by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), following talks in Oslo, the parties had ironed out certain differences obstructing the peace process. In Guatemala, the peace process had reached a "turning point", and Norway—as a member of the Group of Friends—urged the parties to "keep up the momentum of the negotiating process". The UN Conference on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks should succeed in establishing a "solid foundation for the long-term conservation and sustainable use" of those living resources. "More than ever, Africa needs our support to overcome the prevailing crisis."

PORTUGAL

Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso said the "end of the bipolar era has created, somewhat perversely, greater unpredictability and uncertainty in the system of collective security, which has most visibly led to a rebirth of extreme nationalism and new focuses of conflict". The "road to stability and the progressive development of a new concept of security also passes through the stimulation of political institutions capable of guaranteeing respect for universally recognized values. Similarly, greater international control of the use of force will require not only the best and most adequate means but also a constantly renewed political legitimacy in order to wield them". That legitimacy was tied to the goal of "building an international society based on ideals which promote peace, democracy and human rights". He appealed to the main Mozambican political forces to find forms of dialogue and understanding conducive to a "true national reconciliation". In Angola, peace would not be possible unless there was a genuine will on the part of the Angolans themselves.

SAN MARINO

Gabriele Gatti, Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs, said that from the "top of our Mount Titano, on a clear day, one can see the coast of the former Yugoslavia". In the fourth century, San Marino's founder had "fled from that coast to escape religious persecution". Today, his country was launching an "appeal for peace for those tormented regions". The world was "still witnessing with amazement shameful anti-Semitic, xenophobic and racist attitudes", showing that a "culture of tolerance, dialogue and respect" had still to be developed at all levels. Unfortunately, respect for others seemed difficult to achieve since

it could not be imposed by law or a Government decision. That ambitious goal could be attained "only through an educational process", and the UN—as it approached its 50th anniversary—was "surely in a position to meet these challenges".

SPAIN

Foreign Minister Javier Solana said Ibero-American nations were satisfied at the "progress made on the path to democracy and economic modernization". In Guatemala, a UN-promoted negotiation process between the Government and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatémalteca should lead to national reconciliation and full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The "delicate situation" in Cuba called for additional efforts in order to incorporate that country into the "democratic current" flowing through the continent. Spain attached particular importance to a "new process of dialogue and cooperation" in the Mediterranean. It had "special ties of friendship and cooperation" with the Maghreb countries. The solution to Western Sahara lay in a "referendum on self-determination with all appropriate international guarantees". A priority goal was negotiations on Gibraltar. Spain was resolved to "put an end to this colonial anachronism".

SWEDEN

Foreign Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallén said her country "wants a United Nations which reacts effectively against atrocities and mitigates human suffering and through which we can tackle the major questions of global survival, together and in solidarity". It wanted a UN that not only was a forum for States' interests, but placed the individual's well-being at the centre. "Solidarity does not recognize borders." The expectations and hopes of millions of the world's peoples "are threatened by war and violence, by the suppression of human rights, and by racism and xenophobia. They are threatened by starvation, poverty, disasters and environmental degradation. Peace and security, democracy, human rights and sustainable economic and social development constitute a cohesive entity. If we neglect any of these values, we endanger the others." Sweden—whose non-participation in military alliances remained unchanged—wanted to strengthen cooperation with all its neighbours around the Baltic Sea and in the Barents Sea region, including the new, democratic Russia.

TURKEY

Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal said that most conflicts "high on the international agenda" were taking place around his country— which "lies at the very epicentre of the vast geography and the new geopolitics of Eurasia"—remaining a "factor for stability". As an active participant in UN peace-keeping operations, Turkey believed that UN stand-by forces would be a "step forward", since only when a potential aggressor clearly perceived that the international community would "retaliate in a timely and effective manner" might it change its behaviour. In that regard, with the adoption of Security Council resolution 943 (1994) on sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, "once again, aggression has been rewarded". The Bosnian Government must be provided with the "means necessary for self-defence"—a "moral, legal and political obligation" on the part of the world community. Turkish Cypriots remained "totally isolated in their part of the island", and even the UN-sponsored confidence-building package had been "deliberately torpedoed by the short-sighted policies of the other side". A "realistic and viable negotiated settlement" continued to be the Turkish Cypriot objective.

UNITED KINGDOM

Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, said that the UN was "often the target of criticism" because it could not solve "every problem laid at its door". "Machinery cannot run on thin air," and the UN could "only run on fuel" supplied to it by Member States. The Organization—which "at the moment works miracles with what we do not pay it"—must be able to pay its peace-keepers. Some countries were "paying too much and others too little". Although "not a perfect glass palace", the UN was indispensable—the "best building we have". Recent dramatic advances—the new South Africa, the progress in the Middle East, the Downing Street Declaration on Northern Ireland—were "beyond expectation", a "marvelous refutation" of the "cynicism that so often weakens our work". The United Kingdom—which had 4,000 "men and women in blue berets, from Georgia to Rwanda"—would continue to "contribute practically". However, in making their decisions to participate in a UN operation, countries needed to be confident that their military personnel would be "supporting peace and not becoming a party to war".

UNITED STATES

President William J. Clinton said that the world community faced an "age-old fight between hope and fear", a struggle between freedom and tyranny, tolerance and bigotry, knowledge and ignorance, openness and isolation. "Our sacred mission is to build a new world for our children—more democratic, more prosperous, more free of ancient hatreds and modern means of destruction." Although his country had a special responsibility in those common endeavours, it had "no desire to be the world's policeman", but it would help civil societies "emerge from the ashes of repression", sustain fragile democracies, and "restrain the destructive forces". A great cause of confidence was the growth of cooperation with the Russian Federation, and both were taking "dramatic steps to ease tensions around the world". The United States wanted a global convention to halt production of fissile materials, a ban on nuclear testing, an extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and an agreement to reduce the number and availability of anti-personnel land-mines. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) held the "promise for all of us of increased exports, higher wages and improved living standards". He called for efforts to keep UN reform "moving forward so that we do more with less".

THE NATIONS SPEAK

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Lester Bird, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said debt was "strangling" efforts of countries in his region to breathe life into their economies. If a meaningful dialogue between the rich and poor nations did not begin soon, a stand-off in relations could "paralyze economic cooperation and progress on a global scale". In establishing the Association of Caribbean States on 24 July 1994 in Cartagena, Colombia, a major benefit would be "the promotion of the interests of our grouping in international forums". While Antigua and Barbuda had agreed to provide a safe haven for Haitian refugees and to contribute part of its military force to the multinational operation authorized by Security Council resolution 940 (1994), it was "still troubled by the increasing resort to Chapter VII of the Charter as a basis for acting to end conflicts".

ARGENTINA

President Carlos Saúl Menem urged delegates not to lose sight of the fact that "we cannot aspire to a world at peace if we fail to establish a just international society". While there were encouraging signs in South Africa and the Middle East, "not all is brightness", with the shadows of the Balkan tragedy lingering and Rwanda demanding attention. Problems on the international agenda had to be solved by strengthening the UN, and Argentina's participation in nine peace-keeping operations bore out this conviction. Combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction was an indisputable pillar of international peace and security. Argentina had ratified the Treaty of Tlatelolco, was considering accession to the NPT, and firmly supported a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Concerned at the persistence of the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, Argentina deplored further recourse by the United Kingdom to unilateral measures.

BAHAMAS

Orville Turnquest, Deputy Prime Minister, Attorney General and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the Bahamas' education, health and welfare resources had been "stretched beyond capacity" by providing "safe harbour" to Haitian and Cuban refugees in the absence of international assistance. It appreciated the UN's recognition of the need for the world community to "forcibly respond to the brutality of the military dictatorship" in Haiti and had agreed to lend manpower support to the multinational force there. It was also encouraged by the efforts of the United States and Cuba to address the issue of Cuban migrants. Considering the criterion for per capita gross national product as misleading, he called for a comprehensive review of the system for determining eligibility for development assistance, which would include consideration of the "vulnerability index" identified in the Barbados Programme of Action.

BARBADOS

Billie Miller, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and International Business, said the new Government was determined to "overcome the obstacle of size and to harness our natural and strategic assets to convert Barbados into a full-service economy" and create a business-friendly environment for local and foreign investment. Although democracy in the country was "ingrained in the culture and habits of its people", sadly, what they took for granted, others close by in the hemisphere still struggled to achieve. Barbados would participate in the international operation in Haiti. That country's "rendezvous with democracy has now begun in earnest", but the ballot box was only the beginning of the process. She urged sustained implementation of the Barbados Programme of Action for small island developing states.

BELIZE

Dean Barrow, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Economic Development and Attorney General, lamented that there was "still rampant lawlessness abroad on our planet, and we continue to be traumatized by the death and destruction it brings". In this climate, even small countries must do what they could to ease the pain. Belize had therefore agreed to participate in the multinational force "overseeing the end of tyranny in Haiti". The Guatemalan plebiscite, congressional elections and the Oslo Agreement had strengthened the internal order. Belize had begun its own economic adjustment process, in order to cope with the initial dislocations to small economies suffered as the inevitable consequence of the new international trading realities. Even as the World Trade Organization and Bretton Woods institutions developed separate complexes of structures and prescriptions, Belize saw a greater need for overall coordination by the UN.

BOLIVIA

Antonio Aranibar Quiroga, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said that the new Government was devoting its efforts to "reforms needed to make the State an effective instrument for our society's democratic development". Bolivia had embarked on a policy of popular participation. The observance of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People would not be "merely symbolic, but essentially a practical and concrete endeavour in its objectives and its scope". To that end, a meeting in Bolivia in June 1994 had framed a series of recommendations for the Decade's strategy. He hoped for a prompt, positive response so that the legitimate claims of indigenous peoples would not be lost in the "labyrinths of international bureaucracy or the oblivion of another 500 years of solitude". Bolivia also remained firmly committed to finding the best-suited mechanisms to combat the problem of illicit drugs.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

BRAZIL

Foreign Minister Celso Luis Nunes Amorim urged that the stasis of confrontation between the United States and Cuba "give way to the dynamics of dialogue, putting to rest this remnant of the cold war". With regard to Haiti, he found it disturbing that the principles of non-intervention and self-determination were the object of interpretations "incompatible with the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States". After eight years of difficult negotiations within the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Marrakesh agreements had been adopted. However, any positive impact was under threat from new conditionalities that would have a restrictive effect on the flows of international trade. Ties between Brazil and African nations had been strengthened through the action taken to give structure to the community of Portuguese-speaking countries. This new forum would lead to greater understanding and cooperation. The zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic would transform the area into a zone free of nuclear weapons.

CHILE

Foreign Minister José Miguel Insulza noted that in March a new phase in the Chilean democratic process had begun with the installation of the Government of President Eduardo Frei. The fact that most Latin American countries had recently held elections, or would do so in the coming months, provided convincing proof that the region had embarked on a process of modernization and stabilization. Immediate concerns to maintain peace and security "should not prevent us from recognizing and attacking the root causes of these conflicts", including poverty and inequality, which would demand resources matching or surpassing those being spent on resolving conflicts that had already begun. "From a bitter past, Chile has learned the lesson of the close relationship that exists between peace, democracy, economic growth and social development". What would be decided at the March 1995 World Summit for Social Development, a Chilean initiative, would be "intimately linked to the conditions of security and coexistence in the emerging international order".

COLOMBIA

President Ernesto Samper Pizano, underscoring that the "history of the 1990s must not be one more record of the frustration of our aspirations to peace, well-being and justice", urged that actions be directed towards the struggle against poverty and for the attainment of social justice. This vital task was threatened by a new and dangerous "non-tariff" protectionism that was emerging to threaten the free-trade prospects of developing countries. Other threats included: impoverishment; unemployment; postponement of social investment programmes; and development of conomic blocs. A new model for development was needed as an "alternative to the protectionist system of the 1960s". The globalization of the economy required both open and competitive economies and an alternative to "neoliberalism" that "irresponsibly leaves it to the market to correct all imbalances" and "fierce capitalism, which sets up the rule of every man for himself". Colombia would also continue to struggle against "the scourge of mankind that is drug trafficking".

COSTA RICA

Constitutional President José María Figueres Olsen, concerned about growing tensions between the proponents of social progress and those of the environment, said countries at times seemed to be "playing out a macabre global compact for self-destruction". Costa Rica acknowledged that its social and economic progress in recent decades had been achieved at the expense of a serious deterioration in its environment. Aware of the "deplorable results", it intended to make itself a model of sustainable development and was developing an integrated scheme to combine natural conservation with the productive use of tropical biodiversity as part of a national plan "designed to implement all the elements of Agenda 21". Central America offered a much more fertile ground for improving human development. Industrialized countries could maintain their standards of living and levels of production only by fostering development in the rest of the world. Costa Rica invited them to forge closer ties of cooperation with Central America.

CUBA

Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina González said that on two occasions when the General Assembly had demanded the elimination of the economic, trade and financial blockade imposed on Cuba by the United States, the latter had "replied with silence", trying to deny his country "its rightful place as a sovereign nation". Cuba felt the recent meetings in New York between the two had led to "partial solutions" to the long-time dispute. The agreement reached, "if fully implemented, will lay the foundation for the normalization of migratory relations". Reiterating its firm rejection of attempts to adopt "unilateral decisions on issues of vital importance to all peoples and of the abuse of the anachronistic privilege of the veto", Cuba said that, in the cases of Haiti and Somalia, "the Security Council acted under pressure from a big Power, which monopolized the implementation of these actions and even prevented the majority of Member States from voicing their views". These constituted examples of the Council's "illegitimate foray into areas beyond its mandate."

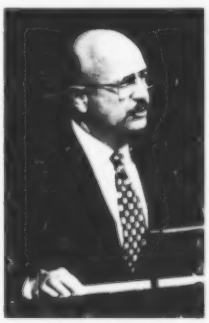
DOMINICA

Mary Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs of the Commonwealth, said the increase in the number of displaced persons and refugees was exerting greater pressure on the UN peace-keeping apparatus at a time

when available resources were already severely taxed. Therefore, the UN must continue restructuring, increase efficiency and reduce costs, but cost-effectiveness should not come at the expense of programmes designed to benefit small developing nations. Concerned at the production of increasingly sophisticated conventional arms—often instruments of internal repression and the cause of national and regional instability—Dominica favoured a "shifting of resources away from the acquisition of unnecessary arsenals and into development programmes". It supported the establishment of the World Trade Organization and the liberalization of trade practices, but cautioned that the fragile economies of small island States could be destroyed if free trade did not embody fairness.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Carlos Morales-Troncoso, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, called his country one of the "most solid and deeply-rooted democracies on the American continent", with a record of lasting political stability. However, it also had its share of problems, one of which stood out: it lived geographically next door to the poorest nation of the hemisphere. While Haiti had "written glorious pages in the history of the struggle for freedom and equality", its past was also "heavy with confrontation and long periods of authoritarian rule" that had turned it into a nation now needing international assistance. He urged a "determined and generous show of cooperation" so that the Haitian people could pursue their economic, social and political destiny. Drug trafficking and consumption was a worldwide scourge, and the Dominican Republic continued to offer its cooperation to other countries in the apprehension, prosecution and extradition of those who "made this criminal trade the most lucrative activity of our new times".



ECUADOR

Acting Foreign Minister Jaime Marchán viewed the 50th anniversary of the UN as an opportunity to reflect on ways to improve the Organization, including adapting some UN structures to new demands of development, which were to be discussed at the 1995 World Summit for Social Development. That Summit should enable nations "to commit themselves to more direct action to face the problems of inadequate education, illness, violence and poverty". Ecuador supported the work of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Respect for human rights and fair economic relations were inseparable. Developing countries' foreign trade was adversely affected by the deterioration of the terms of exchange, which forced them to export greater volumes of raw, unfinished and semi-manufactured goods, while facing non-tariff barriers and other measures that blocked access to the developed countries' markets. Ecuador believed in the fundamental right to life and would not accept programmes based on population control and abortion.

EL SALVADOR

President Armando Calderón Sol said the achievement of peace in El Salvador was the result of the "unshakable resolve of our people, the support of the international community and the effective work of the United Nations and the Secretary-General". He cited progress in the areas of national civil police, the administration of justice and human rights, and said his Government had the political will to "support resolutely the strengthening of our national institutions that protect human rights". Delays in the implementation of commitments relating to the transfer of land, programmes to reintegrate former combatants and human settlements were due in part to financial constraints. Some assistance offered by the international community had not materialized, which put the Government "in a difficult situation and could cause unnecessary social tension". The solution reached by the United States and the de facto government of Haiti had "made it possible to avoid a major armed intervention that would have greatly harmed the Haitian people".

GRENADA

Eugene M. Pursoo, UN Permanent Representative, was pleased that diplomacy had prevailed and further bloodshed had been averted in bringing to an end the illegal seizure of power and the ensuing human rights abuses in Haiti. Grenada was proud that its law enforcement personnel were participating in the multinational force. He recalled that 11 years ago Grenada had profited from a similar operation, "affording us the historic opportunity to restore democratic principles to our way of life". A voluntary three-year structural adjustment programme had just ended, and the country's creditworthiness was restored by the World Bank in June. Whatever success had been recorded was a "credit to regionalism, since the programme was instituted with enormous regional inputs". Grenada must now seek to enhance its productivity and competitiveness in carefully selected areas if it was to survive in an era of trade liberalization. He appealed to developed countries to "be considerate of our fragile economies and the need to adapt to this seemingly hostile economic environment".

GUATEMALA

Foreign Minister Gladys Marithza Ruiz Sánchez de Vielmán said the Guatemalan people had "organized and mobilized and demonstrated its profound democratic convictions, making it possible to restore constitutional order". Its President's background as a former human rights prosecutor guaranteed the Government's determination to struggle for the full enjoyment of human rights and the search for peace through dialogue and negotiation. This commitment to human rights had been "unquestionably strengthened" by progress in the peace negotiations with the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), with a view to ending "one of the lengthiest armed conflicts in Latin America". Countries that had experienced the tragedy of armed conflict knew that it was not possible to have development and social evolution without peace. As a multi-ethnic State, Guatemala appreciated efforts to integrate indigenous peoples into development.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

GUYANA

Prime Minister Samuel Hinds said his Government had recognized that the question of basic human needs could not be ignored. It was a prerequisite for good order and stability, which could in turn produce a stable political environment. There were many countries, not least his own, which suffered not from open and violent conflict, but from the "residue of a crushing external debt and the debilitating effects of an ongoing structural adjustment programme". Despite this, Guyana was committed to providing the basic necessities of health, housing, education and an "economic and a social environment for both men and women to achieve their full potential". One factor that inhibited advances towards a new economic and social order was the "prevailing inequitable terms of trade and the persistent reduction in commodity earnings of exporters of primary products". He hoped that the Assembly session would result in positive measures to address prevailing economic, social and humanitarian problems.

HAITI

President Jean-Bertrand Aristide said he would finally be returning to Haiti, thanks to the heroic courage and determination of its people and to the solidarity of the international community. A channel of hope had been opened after so much suffering, and the multinational operation in Haiti was proceeding to the peoples' full satisfaction. It was now time to create a stable environment that would make national reconciliation possible and allow for rebuilding. Plans for the next decade included: a literacy campaign; reduction and professionalization of the army; improved health care; and a major reforestation drive. The "administration of real justice" would free Haiti from the "vicious cycle of violence and vengeance", and the rule of law remained an "indispensable tool for building the kind of world" to which Haitians aspired. Given the devastating effects on the Haitian economy of "three years of plunder", it was also necessary to open up the economy to attract foreign investment and provide goods at better prices to Haitian consumers. By 2004, "we shall have achieved a structured civil society where the bread of tolerance will be shared."

HONDURAS

Constitutional President Carlos Roberto Reina Idiáquez stressed that while Honduras had remained at peace, it had not been "spared the harsh consequences of the great Central American crisis that devastated the region during the last two decades". In the face of these challenges, Hondurans had opted to implement a "moral revolution" capable of transforming the country peacefully and democratically. Yet, while billions of dollars had been "poured into destruction and military confrontation between brothers" during the cold war, only scant resources were being invested in building new democracies and new economies. All those who "contributed to our destruction have a moral obligation to cooperate in our reconstruction and to help undo the reversals the region suffered because of the two decades of crisis". The agenda of the Alliance for Sustainable Development—a Central American initiative in the political, moral, economic, social and ecological fields—would be further enriched by the International Conference for Peace and Development in Central America, to be held in Tegucigalpa in late October.

JAMAICA

Paul Robertson, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, urged the UN to work vigorously towards implementing a meaningful "Agenda for Development" that must set priorities in programmes and resources to respond to such developing countries' challenges as the burden of debt, inadequate flows of official debt assistance, social costs of structural adjustment and protectionist measures that remained in place in industrialized countries. "Convinced that the path to development and the path to peace are one and the same", Jamaica supported an open, non-discriminatory trading system governed by transparent rules and with an effective mechanism for settling disputes. It awaited the implementation of the Uruguay Round of GATT and the establishment of the World Trade Organization which was an "example of a purposeful design by the international community". Another "truly historic" design was the Convention on the Law of the Sea. Jamaica was proud to host the International Seabed Authority.

MEXICO

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari said answers to the problems resulting from the end of bipolar confrontation and from new economic contests between powerful regions "lie not in weapons, but in the will to build consensus; not in interference, but in the ability to coordinate development policies within a framework of fair competition". Recalling Mexico's own experience in Chiapas in turning the armed challenge into political dialogue, he said: "This is the spirit of political dialogue and peace with honour required by the new era; this is the path of new hope." Dialogue and negotiation were needed to put an end to the longstanding differences between the United States and Cuba. There was also a "need to give preference to peaceful and diplomatic means above all others" with regard to the crisis in Haiti. Although the world had undergone a transition towards a liberalization of trade that was unprecedented, obstacles remained, including new protectionist trends. No instrument would be of greater assistance in opening markets to competition than the World Trade Organization.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

NICARAGUA

President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro said that the Second International Conference of New and Restored Democracies, held in Managua in July, had been a realization of her "great dream", that the peoples that had been able to free themselves from dictatorships could unite and together "begin a great march away from totalitarian and authoritarian forms of government towards democracy". The Managua declaration clearly established the "essential ties between democracy and social and economic development" in stating that the future of those democracies was linked to the international community's response to such matters as external debt, protectionism in developed countries and insufficient concessional funds available for development. "We cannot allow our dreams and the great sacrifices and suffering of millions of people who struggled for liberty to be in vain." She appealed for special attention to the difficulties faced during the fragile transition process.

PANAMA

Gabriel Lewis Galindo, Minister for Foreign Relations, said the results of the May election made it possible for the Panamanian people to "undertake the democratic reconstruction of the State". This had enabled Panama to develop "promising new relations of understanding and cooperation" with the United States, grounded in a common resolve to fulfil the timetable established by the Torrijos-Carter Treaties on the Panama Canal and associated territories. To help ensure that the Canal would become a desirable area for investment, it would convene in 1997 the World Congress on the Panama Canal in cooperation with the UN, France and the US. Current and potential users of the Canal facilities would consider the scope and orchestration of the entire development project. Panama, motivated solely by humanitarian considerations, had offered parts of its territory to help provide a temporary solution to the problem of the Haitian and Cuban "raft and boat people". Panama favoured the lifting of the economic embargo against Cuba, as well as reforms to guarantee a multi-party democracy in that country.

PARAGUAY

Foreign Minister Luís María Ramírez Boettner pointed to "undeniable progress" in Paraguay over the last year in consolidating the democratic process. Nevertheless, problems remained in achieving a level of development with social justice. In view of the magnitude of the task, the burden could not be borne solely by the people of Paraguay. While its economic recovery had produced favourable results, for his country to become more competitive, world markets must be more open, credit more readily available and technology more accessible. Paraguay had worked hard to break out of the isolation arising in part from it being landlocked, and hoped to turn this "handicap" into an advantage. Being at the centre of the Common Market of the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR), established by the 1991 Treaty of Asunción, it could act as a "pivot par excellence" between MERCOSUR and the Andean Common Market. Paraguay also fully shared the international community's anguish at drug trafficking and was doing whatever was necessary to combat it.

PERU

Efraín Goldenberg Schreiber, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the opportunity offered by the World Summit for Social Development must be seized. Internal efforts of developing countries in the spheres of social and economic advance must be matched by high-priority multilateral and bilateral cooperation. While struggling against the "unjustifiable and irrational violence of terrorism", Peru was "swiftly progressing towards reconciliation and peace". Having guaranteed democracy and economic freedoms, Peru, after many years, had excellent prospects. "This new situation will allow us, for the first time in decades, to give social issues the priority they deserve", but international cooperation was also needed. Peru was resolved to continue to fight illegal drug trafficking, which required the "unwavering political commitment of the international community". The recent Summit of Presidents of the Rio Group accepted Peru's proposals for coordinated legislation to penalize money-laundering and confiscate property linked to drug trafficking.

SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS

Kennedy A. Simmonds, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the UN had institutionalized the rights of small and micro-States to exist and coexist with large and powerful countries. Every effort should be made "to enable small States to participate more fully in the day-to-day decision-making process" of the UN. The Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States had recognized that such States had special needs, but discussion had to be translated into tangible benefits. The innovative efforts of small and micro-States to improve their standard of living very rarely received consistent support from the developed world. As these States needed special attention and regimes, the developed world should "rethink the outdated policy of trying to make a single prescription fit all countries".

SAINT LUCIA

William George Mallet, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Trade and Industry, said his small island State seemed to "oscillate" between triumph and disaster.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

"Last year, we highlighted our triumphs in the recognition of our two Nobel laureates. This year the disastrous hand of nature in the form of tropical storm 'Debbie' struck Saint Lucia, dramatically emphasizing the vulnerability of small island developing States." The international community needed to recognize the special peculiarities and needs of such States and make appropriate provisions to facilitate their survival. He called on the developed world and the major international institutions to re-examine their policies, with a view to adopting measures to assist small developing economies in keeping pace with the "dictates of contemporary economic trends". Saint Lucia, with other Caribbean Community countries, shared a vision of hope for Haiti.

SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

Alpian Allen, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Tourism, said the Association of Caribbean States represented an achievement in economic cooperation and regional integration that would ultimately launch new opportunities for collective initiatives by 40 Latin American and Caribbean States and some 200 million people. Further strengthening of the inter-American system remained a major objective of his Government. Satisfied that the use of force had been averted and that democracy would be returned in Haiti, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines would continue to actively participate in "arrangements aimed at ensuring the safe return of President Aristide and in the eventual rebuilding process". He hoped that "An Agenda for Development" and the results of summits and conferences such as the one on sustainable and social development, would assist in a global consensus on how to address those problems. Rather than new institutions, "better terms and a speedier reaction to established needs" were required.

SURINAME

President Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan said tremendous efforts were involved in bringing a democratic system back on track, but Suriname's commitment to the cause of democracy was "strengthened by the distressing experience of the rule of dictatorship under which its people had to live some years ago". Indeed, democracy had suffered some severe setbacks in Latin America and the Caribbean, and the problem of Haiti was of particular concern. His country was providing a temporary safe haven for Haitian refugees, and had pledged its support to the multinational force and the UN mission in Haiti. However, those efforts would be in vain "if the rich countries do not forthwith pool financial resources in a fund for the reconstruction and development" of that country. Permanent mechanisms to guarantee swift and direct action were needed when democracy was threatened. In Suriname, as elsewhere, "bold but necessary reforms have been set in motion to eliminate obstacles to development and economic competitiveness".

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Foreign Minister Ralph Maraj said the economic and political cooperation that was flowering augured well for the development and for the security of the hemisphere. One outstanding example was Haiti, where a multinational force, comprised mainly of troops from the region, including some from Trinidad and Tobago, was contributing to the restoration process. Caribbean countries were also doing their part towards the goal of Cuba's reintegration, having established the Cuba-CARICOM Mixed Commission. Reminding delegates of the inextricable linkage between peace and development and the need to "go back always to the fundamentals", Trinidad and Tobago felt that in the process of elaborating an "Agenda for Development", the world community was "beginning to grapple with fundamentals". As Chairman of the Alliance of Small Island States, his country would play a lead role in pursuit of sustainable development.

URUGUAY

President Luis Alberto Lacalle called the conclusion of the Uruguay Round important, saying that free trade was still one of the bases on which to achieve and strengthen development processes. However, while these results "in principle" could be described as encouraging, they would be meaningless unless free trade was broadened in the future. The various agreements reached must be complemented by further reducing support and subsidy levels and eliminating non-tariff obstacles to trade. The World Trade Organization would be of critical importance in strengthening free trade. He urged prompt ratification of the Marrakesh Agreements. In the context of reorganizing international trade relations, a more crucial role by the UN system and a broadening of activities were called for to meet new challenges such as the "growing imbalance between the wealthy countries and the two thirds of mankind who live in poverty". Uruguay enthusiastically supported the convening of the World Summit for Social Development.

VENEZUELA

President Rafael Caldera noted that fundamental concepts of nationality and sovereignty were being reconsidered, and formulas were being sought "so that inalienable and traditional rights may exist in harmony with the requirements of the supranational community". Among those values were the self-determination of nations and non-intervention, as laid down in Venezuela's Constitution. Accordingly, Venezuela had supported efforts aimed at reintroducing a fully democratic system in Latin American countries where it was not at present established. "For the same reason, though, Venezuela did not support military intervention in Haiti, despite the fact that the United Nations has lent it multilateral and institutional support." The rapid process of globalization was unstoppable and unavoidable. The conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the creation of the World Trade Organization represented "undeniable progress for mankind". He called for guaranteed access to the markets of developed countries, a genuine transfer of technology, equitable access to capital and a broad solution to the external debt problem.

Addressing 'serious risks to humanity'

Post-cold-war nuclear, security issues debated in disarmament forum

Conscious of "serious risks to humanity" posed by the continuing existence and development of nuclear weapons, the General Assembly on 15 December asked the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on whether the "threat or use of nuclear weapons in any circumstance" was permitted under international law. Acting on the recommendation of its First Committee (Disarmament and International Security), the Assembly, by resolution 49/75 K, also stressed that the "complete elimination of nuclear weapons is the only guarantee against the threat of nuclear war".

It also recommended *(49/75 E)* that a "comprehensive set of practical, verifiable measures" be developed by the Conference on Disarmament from three general areas for step-by-step reduction of the nuclear threat: prohibition of nuclear-weapons-test explosion; elimination of special fissionable materials; and converting nuclear arsenal facilities to peaceful purposes.

By resolution 49/70, all States participating in the Conference on Disarmament, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, were urged to negotiate intensively, as a high priority task, and to conclude a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

A total of 44 resolutions—23 without a vote—and two decisions had been approved by the First Committee, as it continued to work on disarmament and international security matters in the post-cold-war era.

With regard to the forthcoming Review and Extension Conference of States Parties to the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)—to be held at Headquarters from 17 April to 12 May—the Assembly invited *(49/75 F)* States parties to "provide their legal interpretations" of an article in the Treaty on "different options and actions available" for its extension.

The urgent need for an "early agreement on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons" was reaffirmed. By resolution 49/73, the Assembly appealed to all States, especially the nuclear-weapon States, to work actively towards an early agreement on "a common approach" and "a common formula" to be included in an "international instrument of a legally binding character".

Some other nuclear-related resolutions dealt with: nuclear disarmament with a view to the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons *(49/75 H)*; a convention on the prohibition of the use

UN Photo 149439/Eiichi Matsumoto

Preventing a nuclear holocaust is the goal of many UN resolutions.

of nuclear weapons *(49/76 E)*; bilateral disarmament negotiations *(49/75 L and P)*; establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East *(49/71)*, South Asia *(49/72)*, South Atlantic region *(49/84)* and Africa *(49/138)*; consolidation of the regime established by the 1967 Tlatelolco Treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean *(49/83)*; the risk of nuclear proliferation in the Middle East *(49/78)*; and prohibition of the dumping of radioactive wastes *(49/75 A)*.

Coordination urged

"Not only do arms control and disarmament make the world more secure, they free up economic, scientific and technological resources for peace and human progress", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the First Committee on 17 October. "Divisions—however real—must not be allowed to stiffle progress in arms control and disarmament", he stated.

Urging "close coordination between global, regional and bilateral dimensions" of disarmament, the Secretary-General also called upon Member States to "maintain the momentum towards ratification and early entry into force" of the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention. Along with the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention and the NPT, it would "complete the triad of global Treaties concerning weapons of mass destruction", he stressed.

The "indefinite and unconditional extension" of the NPT—the "primary normative foundation for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons", with 172 signatories—would also "speed progress towards the ultimate goal of eliminating all nuclear weapons", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated.

Important conclusions

Despite "significant progress" in recent years, a great deal was still needed to be done to achieve the result humankind was expecting—to reach the goal of general and complete disarmament—First Committee Chairman Luis Valencia Rodriguez of Ecuador told the press on 6 December.

Since many States still considered the possession of nuclear weapons and other types of arms as the "only real and effective guarantee of national security", confidence-building measures had to be devised and implemented simultaneously at all levels with disarmament steps, he stressed.

Also, progress had to be achieved in "all three weapon fields"—nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, and conventional arms—and regional and international disarmament approaches were complementary, the Chairman stated.

Better coordination between various international disarmament forums would help "avoid duplication and waste of effort", but implementation of the adopted decisions was also needed.

If only a part of Assembly resolutions had been implemented, the "world would now have general and authentic disarmament", Chairman Valencia Rodriguez said.

Conventional arms, regional security

On 15 December, the General Assembly urged States that had not yet done so to declare moratoriums on the export of anti- personnel landmines "at the earliest possible date" *(49/75 D)*.

In asking the Disarmament Commission to study measures to "curb the illicit transfer and use of conventional arms" *(49/75 M)*, the Assembly also invited Member States to "implement national control measures in order to check the illicit circulation of small arms" *(49/75 G)*.

By another resolution *(49/79)*, it welcomed the request by States parties to the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects to convene a "conference to review the Convention" from 25 September to 13 October 1995 in Vienna.

In stressing that global and regional approaches to disarmament should be "pursued simultaneously to promote regional and international peace and security" *(49/75 N)*, the Assembly decided to "give urgent consideration to the issues involved in conventional arms control at the regional and subregional levels" *(49/75 O)*.

The development and implementation of confidence-building measures, as a "concrete means to facilitate the disarmament and arms limitation process" and improve the prospects for the peaceful settlement of disputes, thus "enhancing regional and international peace and security", were urged *(49/77 D)*.

Resolutions were also adopted on: objective information on military matters *(49/66)* and transparency in armaments *(49/75 C)*; prevention of an arms race in outer space *(49/74)*; Biological Weapons Convention *(49/86)*; scientific and technological developments *(49/67)* and the role of science and technology in the context of international security and disarmament *(49/68)*; disarmament and development *(49/75 J)*; Indian Ocean as a zone of peace *(49/82)*; and security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region *(49/81)*.

Antarctica

Also, for the first time in more than a decade, the Assembly adopted without a vote a text on Antarctica *(49/80)*, by which it affirmed that Antarctica should continue "forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that it should not become the scene or object of international discord".

On 22 November, Hisashi Owada of Japan, speaking on behalf of the States parties to the 1959 Antarctic Treaty, told the Committee that consensus on past resolutions had been impossible since 1985, because they—as opposed to the present draft—questioned the "important and effective" Treaty system to which many UN Member States were parties. ■

Ad Hoc Group formed to elaborate 'Agenda for Development'

The General Assembly on 19 December decided to establish an ad hoc open-ended working group to begin work in early 1995 to further elaborate a comprehensive, action-oriented "Agenda for Development". The possibility of holding an international conference on development is among the issues to be examined. The text was among 45 resolutions and one decision adopted by the Assembly on the recommendation of its Second Committee (Economic and Financial). Only one resolution—on economic and social repercussions of Israeli settlements on Palestinians in the occupied territories and on the Arab population of the Syrian Golan—was adopted by a vote.

As a follow-up to the International Conference on Population and Development, held from 5 to 13 September in Cairo, the Assembly adopted a wide-ranging resolution emphasizing the importance of the early identification and allocation of financial resources by the international community to enable it to fulfil its commitments to the implementation of the 20-year Programme of Action adopted by the Conference and endorsed by the Assembly.

For the first time in three years, the Assembly adopted without a vote a resolution on the foreign debt problem of developing countries. In addition, it stressed the need for trade liberalization and improved access to markets and asked for an analysis of South-South cooperation worldwide.

High-level meetings

The Assembly held four high-level meetings on the Secretary-General's recommendations on his "An Agenda for Development", with debate reflecting wide agreement on the need to tackle the eradication of poverty and African development as priority issues.

By resolution 49/126, the Assembly decided that the working group's deliberations should take into account: the Secretary-General's recommendations; the outcome of the high-level segment of the 1994 substantive session of the Economic and Social Council; the summary of the June 1994 World Hearings on Development; the high-level debate held during the forty-ninth Assembly; and other proposals. A progress report was due in 1995.

The working group was asked *(resolution 49/95)* to take advantage of the presence of high-level representatives during the early part of the Assembly sessions to conduct a dialogue and to convene special sessions on major themes relevant to the current and emerging economic and social issues in the global agenda, including those identified under the "Agenda for Development".

In an 11 November report *(A/49/665)*, the Secretary-General said new development approaches should enable people to participate in decisions affecting their lives, provide job-led growth and replenish the natural heritage on which all life depended. "The battle for people-centred and sustainable development will be won or lost not in the corridors of Governments, but in every hamlet and home, in every village and town, in the daily enterprise of every member of the global community and every institution of civil society", he said.

In a note *(A/49/320)*, the President of the forty-eighth Assembly session said, in elaborating the "Agenda for Development", the establishment of a high-level body on development and economic policy that would meet in permanent session must be considered.

The Assembly also asked *(49/92)* the Secretary-General to ensure that the

FAO Photo/F. Botts

The "Agenda for Development" calls for wide-ranging efforts in a number of areas to improve conditions in poorer countries.

"Agenda for Development" would strengthen the implementation of the Declaration on International Economic Cooperation, in particular, the Revitalization of Economic Growth and Development of the Developing Countries, and the International Development Strategy for the Fourth UN Development Decade.

Uruguay Round completed

The Secretary-General's report *(A/49/328)* on the implementation of the Declaration and the Strategy stated that, with the recent completion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, it was crucial to ratify and implement the final agreement in ways that supported sustainable development.

Obstacles to achieving objectives included sluggish economic performance in industrialized countries during the last three years, and the proliferation of conflicts and related emergency situations which diverted attention from the long-term development needs and strained the UN system's resources.

Positive developments cited included the 1993 IMF Declaration on Cooperaton for Sustainable Global Expansion and the decision to establish the World Trade Organization (WTO). The UN system had continued to help countries sustain and strengthen achievements in alleviating poverty and hunger, human resources development, and education and health.

Debt, trade, development

Although substantive changes were made in the draft on the external debt problem of developing countries, introduced by the "Group of 77" developing countries and the Non-Aligned Movement, the final text *(49/94)* was considered by its original sponsors as a positive step.

Recognizing that a durable solution to the debt problems of the poorest and most heavily indebted developing countries needed even more favourable debt relief measures, the Assembly welcomed the write-off by certain creditor countries of a significant part of the bilateral official debt of the least developed countries (LDCs), and invited them, whenever possible, to cancel the official development assistance (ODA) debt or provide relief with similar effect for the LDCs, particularly those in Africa.

UNICEF Photo/Ingeborg Lippman

The contribution to the development process of women around the world is a UN concern.

The Assembly invited the international community to continue to explore ways of implementing additional and innovative measures to alleviate the debt burdens of developing countries.

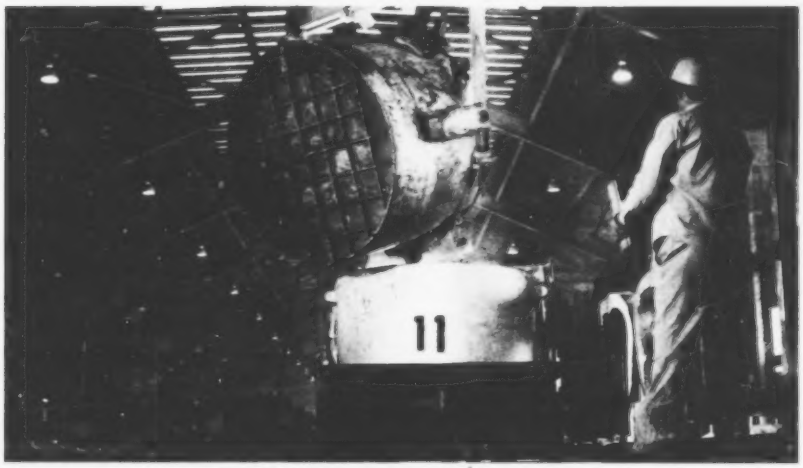
In another report, the Secretary-General stated *(A/49/338)* that the number of countries experiencing debt difficulties and their geographical diversity had not changed dramatically since the 1980s. What had changed was the character of the crisis: the majority of the top market borrowers had exited the crisis, so today's problem debtors were mostly—but not exclusively—indebted mainly to official creditors. At the aggregate level, the debt indicators had improved significantly in the past dozen years due, in particular, to improvement in Latin America.

By resolution 49/93, the Assembly said that to increase the effectiveness of development assistance, developed and developing countries should strive towards a true partnership, which included: ownership and broad-based participation in recipient countries; implementation of domestic economic policies tailored to local conditions; efficient administration; transparent institutions; and strong institutional capacities, including at the local level. Countries should undertake national efforts to implement structural adjustment policies and reforms conducive to the flow of external resources.

Noting the ongoing exchange of views between the Secretary-General and the Director-General of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade on the issue of establishing a relationship between the UN and WTO, the Assembly asked *(49/93)* for a report in 1996 on further institutional developments related to strengthening international organizations in the area of multilateral trade.

The Assembly decided *(49/98)* to convene the High-level Intergovernmental Meeting on the Mid-term Global Review of the Implementation of the Programme of Action for the LDCs for the 1990s, in New York from 26 September to 6 October 1995, to carry out the mid-term global review and consider new measures as necessary.

The Assembly stressed *(49/99)* the urgent need for trade liberalization, including through substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers, and improved access to the markets of all countries, in particular, those of



The Assembly stressed the importance of industrial development cooperation.

developed countries. It deplored any attempt to bypass or undermine multilaterally agreed measures of trade liberalization, and stressed the importance of the full implementation of the Final Act of the Uruguay Round and the significance of the entering into force of the agreement establishing the WTO by 1 January 1995.

African countries should benefit fully from the Uruguay Round's results, and technical assistance should be provided them. The importance of giving special attention to the LDCs to enhance their full participation in the multilateral trading system was also emphasized.

The Assembly called for *(49/100)* implementation of all commitments and recommendations made at the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (25 April-6 May, Barbados) and for effective follow-up to its Programme of Action.

The Assembly invited *(49/101)* States to take active part in the implementation of the Columbus Ministerial Declaration on Trade Efficiency, adopted by the UN International Symposium on Trade Efficiency (Columbus, Ohio, 17-21 October). The Declaration embodies a policy framework and a set of practical actions and recommendations for more efficient trade.

The Assembly welcomed the official launching of the Global Trade Point Network. By electronically interconnecting trade points worldwide, it would allow member countries to trade more efficiently and assist those that had so far remained at the fringe of international trade to participate in a profitable way.

The Secretary-General of the UN Conference on Trade and Development was invited *(49/102)* to elaborate a programme for improving the efficiency of the current transit environment in the newly independent and developing land-locked States in Central Asia and their transit developing neighbours, and to make a comprehensive analysis and study of the transit system for Central Asian countries.

The UN system was invited *(49/106)* to continue its support for the efforts of economies in transition and was called upon to continue studying possible ways of enhancing economic and technical cooperation among themselves, as well as with developing countries.

Agricultural development, commodities

The Assembly urged *(49/103)* countries to create a more open agricultural trading system that would stimulate food production and productivity in developing countries. Special importance was attached to the assistance to developing countries from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN on policy transformation and technical assistance in light of the Final Act of the Uruguay Round.

The UN, multilateral financial institutions and non-governmental organizations were urged to strengthen efforts towards a comprehensive assessment of freshwater resources and to assist interested developing countries in the formulation and implementation of national water policies and strategies.

The Assembly emphasized *(49/104)* the need for developing countries heavily dependent on primary commodities to continue to promote a domestic policy and an institutional environment that encouraged diversification and enhanced competitiveness. It also noted the need expressed in particular by the commodity-dependent developing countries for stable, more predictable commodity prices.

Industrial development cooperation

The Assembly asked *(49/107)* the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) to give full assistance to improving the competitiveness of the industrial sector in Africa and formulating measures to improve it, in the light of the conclusion of the Uruguay Round, and to provide support to mobilize resources and promote foreign direct investment there.

The Economic Commission for Africa and the Organization of African Unity were called upon to facilitate cooperation with UNIDO in order to provide support to improving African industrial cooperation and integrating the African Economic Community into the industrial sphere.

The Assembly stressed *(49/108)* the importance of industrial development cooperation and a positive investment and business climate in promoting the expansion, diversification and modernization of productive capacities in developing countries. The UN system, in particular UNIDO, was invited to contribute to achieving the aims and action programmes adopted by the June 1992 UN Conference on Environ-

ment and Development in Rio de Janeiro and the Cairo Population Conference.

Environment and sustainable development

In considering issues related to environment and sustainable development, the Second Committee focused for the most part on reaffirming commitments agreed upon at UNCED.

The Assembly urged *(49/234)* States that had not done so to sign the UN Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, Particularly in Africa. The Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee was to identify an organization to house the global mechanism for mobilizing financial resources. The Assembly also proclaimed 17 June—the date the Convention was adopted in 1994—as World Day to Combat Desertification and Drought.

Welcoming the entry into force on 21 March 1994 of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Assembly urged *(49/120)* the completion of a plan of preparatory work for the first session of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention. It also proclaimed *(49/114)* 16 September as the International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer, beginning in 1995.

The Assembly also requested *(49/122)* the establishment of a clearly identifiable entity within the Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development to implement the Programme of Action adopted by the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.

It welcomed *(49/117)* the entry into force of the Convention on Biological Diversity and called on States to expedite ratification, acceptance or approval. It also proclaimed *(49/119)* 29 December—the date of entry into force of the Convention—as the International Day for Biological Diversity.

In other action, the Assembly encouraged *(49/112)* Governments and the UN system to take part in the Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment (GLOBE) Programme initiated by the United States. It also called for *(49/116)* measures to ensure that no vessels undertook unauthorized fishing in zones of national jurisdiction, and invited *(49/118)* the UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, which is to meet twice in 1995, to elaborate fisheries bycatch and discard provisions.

Other action

In connection with the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997), the Assembly urged *(49/105)* finding appropriate ways to integrate cultural factors into all endeavours aimed at social and economic development, and to promote intercultural understanding and appreciation. Regional commissions were to consider undertaking a study of the cultural factors influencing development as a potential creator of jobs and generator of income.

The Assembly approved *(49/109)* the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II)—scheduled in Istanbul from 3 to 14 June 1996—on holding a third substantive session in New York early in 1996 to complete its work on the draft statement of principles and commitments, and on the draft global plan of action, which was to be structured around the Conference's two main themes: "Adequate shelter for all" and "Sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world".

The Assembly noted the Secretary-General's call to give the Conference the dimensions of a "city summit", and reaffirmed its decision that the Conference should be held at the highest possible level of participation.

The Assembly stressed *(49/110)* that an in-depth and complete study of the nature, causes and consequences of all types of poverty in developing countries was necessary within the framework of the 1996 International Year for the Eradication of Poverty, building on the results of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development. The Secretary-General was asked to elaborate at an early date the Year's draft programme.

The Assembly affirmed *(49/123)* that the *Human Development Report*, issued annually by the UN Development Programme, was a separate and distinct exercise which was not an official UN document. It recalled that the policies governing the operational activities for development of the UN system would continue to be set by Member States.

The Assembly asked *(49/124)* the United Nations University's Council and Rector to take further steps to strengthen its links with Member States, the UN and its agencies, and enhance the dissemination of its work.

The Assembly urged *(49/125)* Member States to make voluntary contributions to the restructured UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), in particular to its General Fund, so as to assure its viability and the further development of its training programmes.

In other action, the Assembly:

- Proclaimed 1998 as the International Year of the Ocean *(49/131)*;
- Recognized 1995 as the year commemorating the millennium of the Kyrgyz national epic *Manas (49/129)*;
- Decided that the Commission on Transnational Corporations should become a Commission of the Trade and Development Board and be renamed Commission on International Investment and Transnational Corporations *(49/130)*;
- Added Angola and Eritrea to, and removed Botswana from, the list of LDCs *(49/133)*;
- Endorsed the new Global Malaria Control Strategy of the World Health Organization, which aims to prevent mortality and reduce morbidity, as well as social and economic losses, due to malaria *(49/135)*.
- Decided to resume its fiftieth session in March-April 1996 in order to examine the question of "Public administration and development", exchange experiences, review the UN's activities in that field and make recommendations, as appropriate *(49/136)*. ■

Plans for 1995 conferences on social issues dominate agenda

Preparations for three major UN global conferences in 1995—the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen); the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing); and the Ninth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (Cairo)—highlighted the work of the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural). "A commitment by the international community to the goals of all of the conferences implies a new vision and a new priority attached to human-centred development", said Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, in an opening address to the Committee on 11 October.

Stressing the importance of the process of international conferences being held throughout this decade, Mr. Desai remarked that the Social Summit would "bring together many strands that had previously been pursued separately".

In adopting a total of 88 texts—71 resolutions and 17 decisions—on the recommendation of its Third Committee, the General Assembly on 23 December expressed satisfaction with the smooth conclusion of regional preparatory meetings for the Fourth World Conference on Women, the results of which constituted important inputs to the Platform of Action expected to emanate as the final document of the Conference.

The Assembly also approved provisional rules of procedure for the World Summit for Social Development (6-12 March 1995). Other texts concerned the subjects of crime prevention and criminal justice, international drug control, social development, women, human rights, and refugees.

International Family Year observed

On 18 October, the Assembly convened an International Conference on Families to follow-up the International Year of the Family, 1994. The high-level meeting was the first conference devoted exclusively to family issues in the history of the UN, according to Henryk Sokalski, Coordinator for the International Year.

The Assembly decided *(resolution 49/157)* to hold the Ninth UN Congress on crime prevention in Cairo from 29 April to 10 May 1995. The theme for the Congress will be "Less crime, more justice: Security for all".

The world body approved *(49/159)* the Naples Political Declaration and Global Action Plan against Organized Transnational Crime, adopted at the World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime (21-23 November, Naples), and urged States to implement them as a matter of urgency.

The Declaration and Plan of Action aim at fighting organized crime and preventing its further expansion. The Action Plan stresses a number of objectives for national legislation directed against organized transnational crime, and enjoins States to endeavour fully to implement existing bilateral and multilateral conventions and agreements concerning extradition. *(See feature, p. 89).*

The Assembly appealed *(49/156)* to Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to support the UN African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders to enable it to fulfil its objectives, particularly those concerning training, technical assistance, policy guidance, research and data collection.

The Secretary-General

Courtesy of WFUNA

Artwork by Masayuki Miyata

was asked *(49/158)*, as a matter of urgency, to provide the UN crime prevention and criminal justice programme with sufficient resources for the full implementation of its mandate.

The Assembly asked the Secretary-General to provide adequate funds to build and maintain the institutional capacity of the UN crime prevention and criminal justice programme to respond to Member States' requests for assistance and to strengthen cooperation between the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch and the UN International Drug Control Programme (UNIDCP).

Drug control

Under a five-part omnibus resolution *(49/168)* on international drug control, the Assembly called upon States to intensify their efforts to promote cooperation to combat drug abuse and illicit trafficking. The Assembly reaffirmed that the fight against drug abuse should not in any way justify violation of principles enshrined in the UN Charter and international law, particularly respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations.

The international community was called upon to provide increased economic and technical support for programmes of alternative and sustainable development that took the cultural tradition of people fully into account. States were called upon to consider increasing efforts to eradicate illegal crops from which narcotics were obtained.

States were called upon to implement the Global Programme of Action, with a view to translating it into practical action for drug abuse control at the national, regional and international levels.

The Assembly supported the UN System-wide Action Plan on Drug Abuse Control as a vital tool for the coordination and enhancement of drug abuse control activities within the UN system.

Social development

The Assembly adopted four resolutions on social development, including questions relating to the world social situation, youth, ageing, disabled persons and the family.

It decided *(49/152)* to devote up to four plenary meetings in 1995 to mark the tenth anniversary of the International Youth Year (1985) and to adopt the World Programme of Action for Youth towards the Year 2000 and Beyond.

The Assembly decided to mark the Year's tenth anniversary by designating in 1995 an international youth day at its fiftieth session. Member States were encouraged to ensure that youth and youth organizations were given an opportunity to be involved in and contribute to discussions at the national level, leading to the celebration of the Year's tenth anniversary.

Member States were called upon *(49/154)* to enable young people to obtain a comprehensive education, including in human rights, environmental questions and cross-cultural issues, with a view to fostering mutual understanding and tolerance. The Secretary-General was asked, in close cooperation with Member States and youth organizations, to evaluate programmes developed during the follow-up of the International Youth Year, with a view to ensuring effective implementation of a world youth programme of action to the year 2000 and beyond.

Holger Kallehauge, High Court Judge of Denmark, participated in the debate on disabled issues in the Third Committee.

The Assembly encouraged the preparation by Member States that had not yet done so of a national youth policy, based on an analytical national evaluation of the situation and needs of youth.

The Secretary-General was asked to make recommendations on the need for specific programmes aimed at encouraging school attendance through various means, in particular by the provision of lessons free of charge and, where appropriate, free food in schools.

Long-term Strategy for Disabled

The Assembly urged *(49/153)* Governments to fully implement the 1993 Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities and to set time limits for the accomplishment of specific goals or targets.

The Assembly encouraged the Secretary-General and concerned UN agencies to finalize, in consultation with Member States, the development of a global disability indicator.

Governments were called upon, when implementing the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons, to take into account the elements suggested in the Long-term Strategy to Implement the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons to the Year 2000 and Beyond.

The Assembly invited *(49/155)* Governments, relevant international organizations, specialized agencies and cooperative organizations to observe annually the International Day of Cooperatives on the first Saturday of July starting from 1995, as proclaimed by Assembly resolution 47/90. ■

Obstacles to women's progress to be addressed in Beijing

By Nancy Seufert-Barr

The sharing of power between men and women remains unacceptably low, while economic deprivation, abuse and discrimination still exist, asserted speakers during the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) consideration of the advancement of women.

"It is becoming increasingly clear that more needs to be done to address obstacles to the advancement of women in the areas of poverty, violence, access to resources, women's rights, education and health", stated Gertrude Mongella before the Committee on 1 December.

Young woman of Bahrain.

Thus, the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing from 4 to 15 September 1995, "is a conference which cannot fail", Ms. Mongella said. "As we go into the twenty-first century, the women of the world cannot afford to miss this opportunity."

Assembly discussions and action—which ranged from the prevention of trafficking in women and girls to advancing the status of women in the UN Secretariat—will form an integral part of the preparatory process of the Beijing Conference *(see box)*.

A central theme of the Committee debate was the advancement of women as a cause and effect of development, as outlined in the *1994 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development*. Prepared every five years, the *Survey* is one of the principal documents for the "Platform for Action" to be adopted at the Fourth World Conference.

According to the *Survey (A/49/378)*, economic growth and development appear to be intricately related to the advancement of women. "Where women have advanced, economic growth has usually been steady; where women have not been allowed to be full participants, there has been stagnation", states the report.

The Assembly urged *(resolution 49/162)* the Commission on the Status of Women to ensure that older women's concerns and contributions to development are recognized and incorporated into strategies, programmes and policies of the Platform for Action. It also urged *(49/165)* countries to ensure that women migrant workers are protected from violence and unscrupulous recruitment practices.

Regarding the worsening problem of trafficking in women and girls, the Assembly condemned *(49/166)* the illicit movement of persons across national and international borders, with the end goal of forcing women and girls into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations, as well as other illegal activities, such as forced domestic labour, false marriages, clandestine employment and false adoption. ■

Moving towards the Women's Conference

The Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace (4-15 September, Beijing) will be of "far-reaching significance to the global advancement of women", with solid preparatory work a key to its success, Wang Xuexian of China, host to the Conference, stated before the Third Committee on 2 December 1994.

The Fourth World Conference is being convened to review the advancement of women since the last Conference in Nairobi in 1985. To be held at the Beijing International Convention Centre, the Fourth Conference will also determine priorities over the next five years and is expected to formulate a "Platform for Action", which will concentrate on overcoming key obstacles to the advancement of women worldwide.

In adopting resolution 49/161, the Assembly asked UN bodies, specialized agencies, relevant intergovernmental organizations and Member States to consider specific commitments and action to meet global priorities for the advancement of women, which will be reflected in the Conference Platform for Action.

The Commission on the Status of Women will convene the final preparatory meeting for the Conference from 15 March to 4 April in New York.

Children often bear high cost of armed conflict, poverty

Assembly promotes their rights, ensures their tomorrows

Economic marginalization, along with the devastations of armed conflict, are "casting a shadow over the future of nations by depriving millions of children of the right to develop normally in mind and body", asserts *The State of the World's Children 1995*, published annually by the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF).

In the wars of the last decade—a series of catastrophes that includes Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mozambique, Angola, Somalia, the Sudan, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Haiti—far more children than soldiers have been killed and disabled, according to the report. In just ten years, approximately 2 million children have died in wars and between 4 million and 5 million have been physically disabled.

"These are statistics of shame. And they cast a long shadow over future generations and their struggle for stability and social cohesion", asserts the report. "More quietly, the continued economic and social marginalization of the poorest nations, and of the poorest communities within nations, is depriving far larger numbers of children of the kind of childhood which would enable them to become part of tomorrow's solutions rather than tomorrow's problems."

Profoundly concerned by the continuing deterioration of the situation of children in many parts of the world, the Assembly on the recommendation of the Third Committee asked *(resolution 49/209)* Member States and UN agencies to facilitate the extension of humanitarian relief and assistance to children in armed conflicts and the immediate aftermath of such conflicts.

Graca Machel, an expert appointed by the Commission on Human Rights to conduct a study on the impact on children of armed conflicts, told the Third Committee that the international community must collectively fashion a response to the children "whose tiny corpses, wounded bodies and fractured psyches were marking the landscape of humanity".

According to a report of the Secretary-General *(A/49/643)*, Ms. Machel's study was mandated to recommend to the international community action relating to: protection of children; the impact of the indiscriminate use of weapons; and physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration.

The Assembly also expressed deep concern at the growing number of incidents related to the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography *(49/210)*, and at reports of street children being involved in and affected by serious crime, drug abuse, violence and prostitution *(49/212)*. Governments were strongly urged to take urgent measures to prevent these abuses.

Emphasizing the importance of full implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Assembly urged States that had not done so to sign, ratify or accede to it as a matter of priority, with a view to reaching universal ratification by 1995.

—Nancy Seufert-Barr

Family Conference urges long-term action

In the wake of the International Year of the Family 1994, which stimulated worldwide debate on the role of the family in modern human society, the General Assembly convened on 18 October in New York the International Conference on Families to discuss the activities in observance of the Year and directions for a draft plan of action for the fiftieth Assembly.

Its three main areas are: questions of gender equity; the rights of the child; and inter-generational issues.

Participants, including many ministerial-level delegates, heard of hundreds of activities, including not only promotional efforts, but also substantive family-oriented programmes, undertaken during the Year in scores of countries. For example, some countries now have Government ministries devoted to the family, some have passed special family-oriented legislation, and some have transformed international coordinating bodies for observance of the Year into permanent organizations.

Year for Tolerance proclaimed

Swift action to prevent rights violations asked

Greater attention must be devoted to human rights education and to creating climates of mutual tolerance, the new UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, José Ayala Lasso, asserted to the forty-ninth General Assembly. Moreover, reacting to serious violations of human rights around the world, and acting to prevent them, requires swift action, he stated.

UN Photo

Respect for differences among the world's peoples is a continuing concern of the General Assembly. *Above*, UN tour guides at Headquarters.

Armed with the High Commissioner's first overall report since his appointment on 14 February 1994, the Assembly adopted 59 resolutions and 17 decisions on the issue of human rights, on the recommendations of its Third Committee (Social, Cultural and Humanitarian).

The Assembly called for support for the observance of the UN Year for Tolerance in 1995 and asked the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to prepare a declaration of principles and a programme of action as a follow-up to the Year.

The Assembly also adopted the revised Programme of Action for the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination *(resolution 49/146)*. It proclaimed the ten-year period beginning on 1 January 1995 as the UN Decade for Human Rights Education *(49/184)*, and decided that the International Day of the World's Indigenous People should be observed every year on 9 August *(49/214)*.

By resolution 49/214, the Assembly also adopted a short-term programme of activities for 1995 to commemorate the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, which was launched on 10 December. It supported creating a permanent forum for indigenous people—numbering 300 million worldwide—within the UN during the Decade.

Four resolutions were adopted on the promotion and protection of the rights of children, considered as a separate agenda item for the first time *(see story, p. 85)*.

The Assembly also expressed concern over violations of human rights in many parts of the world, including in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cuba, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, Rwanda, Sudan, and the former Yugoslavia.

This year marked the first time that a resolution *(49/204)* was adopted on human rights in Kosovo. Several representatives expressed concern about a precedent being set by addressing the human rights situation in part of a State—the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)—and stressed the importance of territorial integrity.

By the text, the Assembly demanded that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia take measures to immediately end all human rights violations against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. The creation of an adequate international monitoring presence in Kosovo was asked.

The most controversial issue debated in the Third Committee was that of capital punishment, which ultimately failed to reach the Assembly for plenary action. Following the defeat of no-action motions and other procedural moves, a draft resolution, which would have encouraged States that had not yet abolished the death penalty to consider a moratorium on pending executions, was rejected in the Committee by a vote of 36 to 44, with 74 abstentions.

Frank dialogue

Regarding his first year of activities, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights reported *(A/49/36)* that Governments had responded encouragingly to his call to begin a "frank dialogue

without conditions or prejudices" for the promotion, protection and effective enjoyment of human rights by all.

During visits to numerous countries, the High Commissioner had raised issues relating to the promotion of the rights of women, the status of minorities and non-citizens, the legal status of refugees and asylum seekers, and the rights of children. Special attention was paid to the rise in xenophobia and new forms of racial and ethnic discrimination. The importance of universal ratification of key human rights instruments and implementation of the right to development had been stressed.

The Assembly welcomed *(49/178)* all measures the human rights treaty bodies might take in response to situations of massive human rights violations, including bringing those violations to the attention of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Secretary-General and UN human rights bodies.

The Assembly expressed *(49/175)* deep concern at the growing manifestations of racism, xenophobia and other forms of discrimination and inhuman or degrading treatment directed against migrant workers in different parts of the world. Member States were asked to consider signing and ratifying or acceding to the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families as a matter of priority and to become parties to the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment *(49/177)*.

Other action

In other action, the Assembly:

- Affirmed that the promotion, protection and full realization of all human rights and fundamental freedoms should not be used for political ends *(49/181)*.
- Urgently appealed for effective action to combat and eliminate summary or arbitrary executions, including extrajudicial executions *(49/191)*.
- Expressed hope that the Palestinian people "may soon exercise their right to self-determination in the current peace process" *(49/149)*.
- Urged States to respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the sovereign right of peoples to determine their political, economic and social systems; and to refrain from taking actions to undermine the electoral processes in any country *(49/180)*.
- Affirmed that the promotion and protection of one category of rights should never exempt or excuse States from promoting and protecting the others *(49/186)*.

Report on racism, xenophobia

Appointed on 7 December 1993, the Commission on Human Rights' Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, Maurice Glélé-Ahanhanzo of Benin, reported *(A/49/677)* for the first time to the Third Committee.

In 1994, he observed, the world economic crisis had worsened the problem of racism around the globe. Recession had hit the countries of the South, causing many to flee to countries in the North where economic difficulties had awakened nationalism and a tendency to look inward. Racial discrimination had also become more violent. In spite of all the negative developments, he said, some Governments and societies had acted to eliminate racism.

The Assembly expressed *(49/147)* full support for the Special Rapporteur's work, and urged Member States to earmark funds for his mandate.

- Declared firm opposition to acts of foreign military intervention, aggression and occupation *(49/148)*.
- Asked States to consider concluding agreements to establish suitable regional machinery on human rights *(49/189)*.
- Called on States to take all measures to prevent, combat and eliminate all acts of terrorism *(49/185)*.
- Urged the promotion and the protection of the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, and the facilitation of their full participation in all aspects of the political, economic, social, religious and cultural life of society *(49/192)*.
- Called upon States to: ensure the universally recognized freedom of travel to all foreign nationals legally residing in their territory; allow the free flow of financial remittances by foreign nationals residing in their territory to their relatives in the country of origin; and discourage and reverse legislation that adversely affected family reunification of documented migrants *(49/182)*.
- Urged States to ensure that their territory and nationals were not used for the recruitment, assembly, financing, training and transit of mercenaries *(49/150)*.
- Called on Governments to ensure that, when a state of emergency was introduced, the protection of human rights was ensured, particularly as regards the prevention of enforced disappearances *(49/193)*.
- Urged States to give widespread publicity to the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action—adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights (14-25 June 1993, Vienna) *(49/208)*.
- Urged States to ensure that no one within their jurisdiction was, on account of their religion or belief, deprived of the rights to life or to liberty and security of person, or subjected to torture or arbitrary arrest or detention *(49/188)*.
- Expressed concern over financial limitations on the work of the Centre for Human Rights *(49/195)*. ■

Massive emergencies, large-scale repatriations confront UNHCR

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had been confronted with the dual challenge of massive emergencies and large-scale repatriations during 1994, High Commissioner Sadako Ogata reported to the General Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) on 9 November.

Nowhere had the challenges been more evident than in Rwanda, the High Commissioner said. Despite international efforts, the human toll had been very high. The emergency preparedness and response capacity of UNHCR was demonstrated in April, when some 260,000 Rwandese fled in just over 24 hours to the United Republic of Tanzania. However, the influx of more than 1 million people in one week into Goma, Zaire had been overwhelming, and the UNHCR had been compelled to devise innovative emergency assistance "packages", using donor governments' personnel and facilities, including the military.

Parts of West Africa, as well as Somalia, "continue to present an uneasy contrast of crises and fragile hope, of sudden exodus paralleled by spontaneous returns", she stated. In the former Yugoslavia, UNHCR had continued its humanitarian activities on behalf of some 4 million refugees, internally displaced and besieged civilians, the "largest single group of persons in need of international protection worldwide".

"Based on our experience in the former Yugoslavia and Zaire, we are now actively examining the limited use of military support, while retaining the civilian control and multinational character of our humanitarian operations", High Commissioner Ogata stated.

The total population of concern to the agency had reached 23 million worldwide, including some 16.4 million refugees, according to a 31 August report of the UNHCR *(A/49/12)*. The cost of meeting their needs was estimated to be more than $1 billion.

While there had been some agreements reached for large-scale voluntary repatriation movements in 1993 and 1994, the deterioration of a number of other situations had led to new refugee flows.

Assembly acts on refugees

In adopting on 23 December five resolutions on refugees, the Assembly, among other things: deplored the fact that, in certain situations, refugees and returnees and other persons of concern to UNHCR had been subjected to armed attack, murder, rape and other violations of or threats to their personal security and other fundamental rights, and that incidents of refoulement and denial of access to safety had occurred *(49/169)*; condemned all acts of exploitation of unaccompanied refugee minors, including their use as human shields in armed conflict *(49/172)*; and called upon the UN system and the international community to strengthen the emergency response capacity of the UNHCR on the basis of its experience in Rwanda *(49/174)*.

Repatriation efforts

Voluntary repatriation efforts had met with notable success in Cambodia, to which 365,000 persons had returned till the first quarter of 1994, the UNHCR report stated. More than 60,000 of the nearly 200,000 refugees from Myanmar, who had sought refuge in Bangladesh, had been voluntarily repatriated, thanks to the signing of two memoranda of understanding.

As a result of the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement, some 1.5 million Mozambican refugees from six neighbouring countries had been repatriated by the end of 1994.

However, even with successful repatriations in recent months, Africa continued to "be plagued by the problems of refugees and forced population displacements", with 7.2 million refugees and 20 million internally displaced persons, according to a 26 October report *(A/49/578)*. Internal conflicts, human rights violations, and breakdowns of law and order, combined with the negative effects of poverty, drought and famine, continued to create "unprecedented levels of hardship and suffering" in many parts of Africa, it stated.

Another report of 13 September *(A/49/380)* on the consequences of the six-year conflict over Nagorny Karabakh—an Armenian-populated enclave in Azerbaijan—stated that the conflict had generated some 250,000 refugees, mostly from Armenia, along with an additional 658,000 people who were internally displaced. "Thus, close to a million refugees and displaced persons are now crammed into the houses of relatives, schools, collective farms, tents and thousands of makeshift shelters across Azerbaijan", the report stated.

The five-year process of the International Conference on Central American Refugees (CIREFCA) had been formally concluded in June, according to a 19 October report on that matter *(A/49/534)*. CIREFCA had facilitated the voluntary repatriation of 70,000 Nicaraguans, 30,000 Salvadorians and 16,000 Guatemalans, shut down refugee camps, and promoted the adoption of specific measures to regularize the situation of refugees and returnees, the report added. ■

Transnational 'crimebusters' agree on new action plan

By Tim Wall

NAPLES, Italy—The new-style criminal organizations of the 1990s—termed "crime multinationals" by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali—were the subject of the World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime (21-23 November, Naples), organized by the UN Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch. The meeting, attended by representatives of 142 nations, focused attention on the rapid growth, increasing financial sophistication and predominantly international character of today's crime syndicates. Estimated to bring in as much as $750 billion annually, the major transnational crime groupings are disrupting economic development in key countries and the entire regions, and often contend with Governments for political power.

In adopting the Naples Political Declaration and Global Action Plan, the Conference took a step towards realizing the idea of a legally binding international convention on transnational crime: national Governments will be asked their viewpoints on the advisability of establishing such a convention. At the close of the Conference, Italy announced plans to fund an international centre for training law enforcement personnel to combat transnational crime.

The idea for the Naples Conference was advanced in 1991 by Giovanni Falcone, the crusading Italian magistrate assassinated by the Mafia in 1992. His work and that of many of his colleagues—some of whom were also martyred—is credited with sharply curtailing the national influence of Italian crime syndicates.

In hosting the Conference in Naples and the preparatory committee meeting in Palermo—both cities are base areas for major crime organizations—the Italian Government demonstrated its determination to curb the power of transnational crime. The need for a tight security cordon around each gathering and reports of increasing collaboration among Italian mafias, South American cartels, the Hong Kong-based "Triads" and gangs emerging in countries with formerly centralized economies, however, indicate that the struggle against international crime is still in an early stage.

Foto di Fortunato Celentino

Naples' Royal Palace—site of the Conference.

Globally organized syndicates control the bulk of the illicit international trade in drugs, prostitution, transport of aliens, gems and valuable metals, body parts, counterfeit currency, weapons and stolen goods, according to reports reviewed at the Conference. They have moved swiftly to take advantage of international trends towards globalization and liberalization, as deregulation of national economies and cutthroat competition for investments and hard currency make it easier to operate and to hide profits.

The Conference endorsed: greater use of bilateral and multilateral agreements on extradition and exchange of witnesses and evidence; personnel exchanges between national law enforcement agencies; and international aid to criminal justice systems in developing countries. The Naples Declaration said that States should consider: making money laundering a crime; requiring greater transparency of banks and other financial enterprises; and establishing laws providing for the seizure of organized crime assets. ■

DECOLONIZATION

Trusteeship Council formally suspends operation
Palau admitted to UN

The admission to the UN of Palau—the last of the Trust Territories—was an "historic moment", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on 15 December at a flag-rising ceremony to mark the event.

"Now, the task for which the Trusteeship Council had been created was fulfilled, bringing an end to a chapter in United Nations history", he stated.

Palau's President Kuniwo Nakamura said that for almost 50 years his country had been "proud to have the flags of the United States and the United Nations flying with its own", but this year those two flags had been "formally lowered as Palau became independent".

Earlier that day, the General Assembly, by unanimously adopting resolution 49/63, admitted the Republic of Palau to the UN as its 185th Member State.

The Security Council on 29 November, after recommending that action in its resolution 963 (1994), had also stated that Palau's admission marked the "culmination of an effort sustained over decades to bring self-determination to the Trust Territories in different corners of the world".

On 10 November, the Security Council had terminated the Trusteeship Agreement for Palau, by unanimously adopting resolution 956 (1994), and also determined that the "objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement have been fully met".

The same conclusion had been reached on 1 November by the Trusteeship Council, as it formally suspended operations after nearly half a century. It would henceforth meet "only on an extraordinary basis, as the need arose", its President Hubert Legal of France stated at the closure of the 1706th meeting.

On 17 October, the United States informed *(T/1985)* the Secretary-General that its Compact of Free Association with Palau—approved by a 68-per cent majority of Palauans in a 9 November 1993 plebiscite—"came fully into force on 1 October 1994".

In December 1990, the Security Council had terminated the 1947 UN Trusteeship Agreement for the three other entities of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands, which both approved Compacts of Free Association with the United States; and the Northern Mariana Islands, which opted for Commonwealth status. ■

FOURTH COMMITTEE

Peace-keeping, decolonization reviewed

Peacemaking activities—described by the General Assembly as an "essential function of the United Nations"—were among the "important means for the prevention, containment and resolution of disputes, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security", the world body declared on 9 December.

Acting on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization), the Assembly, by resolution 49/37, provided detailed guidelines for UN peace-keeping operations, covering among other things: definition, evaluation and implementation of mandates; model agreements with troop contributors; consultation and coordination mechanisms; command and control; finances and resources; safety and security of UN personnel; and cooperation with regional organizations.

Approving a total of 35 texts (28 resolutions and 7 decisions), the Fourth Committee—merged in 1993 with the former Special Political Committee—considered a variety of issues, ranging from protection and security of small States, the peaceful uses of outer space, the effects of atomic radiation, Palestinian issues, to questions relating to information and decolonization.

Committee Chairman Boris M. Hudyma of Ukraine, in an opening address on 5 October, said that any new strategies regarding the remaining 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories "must recognize as paramount the interests and needs of their people".

In an omnibus resolution *(49/46 A-B)* on 10 Non-Self-Governing territories—American Samoa, Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Guam, Montserrat, Tokelau, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and the United States Virgin Islands—the Assembly stressed the administering Powers' responsibility to "create such conditions in the Territories as will enable their people to exercise freely and without interference their inalienable right to self-determination and independence".

Separate resolutions on Western Sahara *(49/44)*, New Caledonia *(49/45)* and Tokelau *(49/47)*, as well as decisions on Gibraltar *(49/420)*, Pitcairn *(49/421)* and St. Helena *(49/422)*, were adopted as well.

The Assembly also expressed its commitment to ensure respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia *(49/43)*. It also enlarged the membership of two UN bodies: the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, from 53 to 61 *(49/33)*; and the Committee on Information, from 83 to 88 *(49/416)*. ■

Convention on Safety of UN Personnel, Terrorism Declaration adopted

The General Assembly on 9 December adopted and opened for signature, ratification and acceptance a 29-article Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.

In adopting resolution 49/59, the Assembly also underlined the importance of speedily concluding a comprehensive review of arrangements for compensation for death, disability, injury or illness attributed to peacekeeping services, with a view to developing equitable and appropriate arrangements and ensuring expeditious reimbursement. States were urged to take appropriate measures to ensure the safety and security of such personnel within their territory.

The Convention obliges States parties to establish jurisdiction over crimes, including murder, kidnapping or threat of attack, against UN and associated personnel. It defines the duties of States to ensure the safety and security of such personnel and to release or return those captured or detained. It calls on host States and the UN to quickly conclude agreements on the status of the UN operation and personnel. Transit States are required to facilitate unimpeded transit of such personnel. The Convention also addresses such issues as prosecution or extradition of alleged offenders.

Terrorism condemned

The Assembly also adopted a four-article Declaration, set out in resolution 49/60, which condemned all acts and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, wherever and by whomever they were committed. States were urged to take measures at the national and international levels to eliminate international terrorism, and to make every effort to ensure that the Declaration was widely known, observed and fully implemented.

The Secretary-General was asked to assist in the Declaration's implementation by taking practical measures to enhance international cooperation in order to prevent and suppress international terrorism.

In resolution 49/57, the Assembly approved another Declaration—on the enhancement of cooperation between the UN and regional arrangements or agencies in the maintenance of international peace and security. The 12-operative paragraph text encourages States participating in regional arrangements or agencies to consider the possibility of using, establishing or improving at the regional level procedures and mechanisms for the early detection, prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes, in close coordination with the UN's preventive efforts.

In all, 14 resolutions and four decisions were adopted by the Assembly on the recommendation of its Sixth Committee (Legal).

International criminal court

It was agreed *(49/53)* that an ad hoc committee would be established to review major issues arising from the draft statute for an international criminal court and arrangements would be considered to convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention on the court's establishment.

The Assembly also urged *(49/51)* resumed work on the draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind and on State responsibility.

The Assembly voted to consider *(49/58)* the deletion of the term "enemy-State" from the Charter and asked the Special Committee on the Charter of the UN and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization to recommend at its fiftieth session the most appropriate legal action to be taken on that question.

It was decided that the Sixth Committee would convene *(49/52)* as a working group a meeting from 7 to 25 October 1996 to elaborate a framework convention on the law of the non-navigational uses of international watercourses, based on draft articles adopted by the International Law Commission (ILC) in light of Member States' written comments, as well as views expressed during the current Assembly session.

By resolution 49/54, the Assembly recommended that, in view of the desirability of the improvement and uniformity of the laws of procurement, States give favourable consideration to the Model Law on Procurement of Goods, Construction and Services when enacting or revising their procurement laws. By resolution 49/55, it stressed the importance of bringing into effect conventions emanating from the Commission's work and urged States to consider signing, ratifying or acceding to those conventions.

The Assembly accepted the ILC's recommendation *(49/61)* to convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to consider the articles on jurisdictional immunities of States and their property, and to conclude a convention on the subject.

Concern was expressed *(49/56)* that financial indebtedness resulting from non-compliance with contractual obligations by certain missions accredited to the UN had increased to alarming proportions, and all permanent missions were reminded of their responsibilities to meet such obligations.

Acts of violence against diplomatic and consular missions, as well as representatives of international intergovernmental organizations and officials, were strongly condemned *(49/49)*. ■

Yalta and the 'Voting Formula'

by Harold Fruchtbaum

Beginning at 11:30 on the night of 2 February 1945, the first of 25 military transport planes took off from the Mediterranean island of Malta. They left at 10-minute intervals, until all were airborne shortly before dawn. The American and British aircraft were carrying nearly 700 passengers, including United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt and United Kingdom's Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill, 1,400 miles east to the Crimea for a week-long summit conference at Yalta with the Soviet Union's Premier, Joseph V. Stalin.

AP/Wide World Photos

The "Big Three" at Yalta—Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin.

With the end of the ferociously fought war in Europe 13 weeks away, critical military and political decisions had to be made. The heads of Government were accompanied by their foreign ministers, and half or more of the three delegations were high-ranking military officers. High on the agenda were military plans for the defeat of Germany and its occupation, as well as reparations to the Allied countries for damages. Other issues on which agreement among the three leaders was sought included assistance to the peoples of liberated Europe, the political future of Poland and Yugoslavia, and the Soviet's possible role in the war against Japan. Poland would prove to be the most contentious question of the Crimea Conference, one that critics later focused on in their condemnations of the Yalta agreements. They were also displeased with the Yalta solution to the problem of what was known as "the voting formula" for the proposed general international organization—the future United Nations.

At the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, held in Washington from late August through early October 1944, a working draft of the Charter for the UN was approved by high-level representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. An impasse developed, however, over voting in the Security Council. The four Governments agreed on the requirement of unanimity among permanent members when the Council was to act on non-procedural matters concerning peace and security. If a Council member was a party to a dispute, the Americans and British proposed it not participate in the voting. The Soviet Union, however, favoured it retain the right to vote. Attempts at reaching a compromise failed. Moreover, the Soviets proposed UN membership for each of their 16 republics. Two months after the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, an attempt by the United States to negotiate a compromise on the voting formula proved unsuccessful. The matter would have to be carried to Yalta. At a plenary session in Yalta's elegant Livadia Palace in the late afternoon of 6 February, the voting formula was discussed by the three heads of Government and their foreign ministers. Marshall Stalin asked for further study.

During the plenary meeting the following afternoon, the Soviet Foreign Minister announced that the Anglo-American voting formula was acceptable to his Government. He then raised the question of UN membership for the Soviet republics—not all 16, but 2 or 3. The foreign ministers were to study that proposal.

In plenary on 8 February, agreement was reached that the United Kingdom and the United States would support, at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, which would open in San Francisco on 25 April, a Soviet proposal admitting the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics to original membership in the UN. ■

BOOKWATCH

The United Nations and Apartheid, 1948-1994
The United Nations Blue Books Series, Volume I

Introduction by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Department of Public Information, New York, 1994
565 pp. $29.95 Sales No. E.95.I.7 (Soft) ISBN 92-1-100546-9

The United Nations and Cambodia, 1991-1995
The United Nations Blue Books Series, Volume II

Introduction by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Department of Public Information, New York, 1995
352 pp. $29.95 Sales No. E.95.I.9 (Soft) ISBN 92-1-100548-5

"Designed to provide primary research and reference tools to academics, policy makers, journalists and others interested in gaining a deeper understanding of the work of the United Nations", these first two volumes in the new Blue Books Series are notable achievements. Each begins with an extensive and well-indexed overview of the subject. Maps and handsome page design contribute to comprehension. Notes in the wide margins refer the reader to section two where relevant documents are reproduced and indexed. Document lists and a chronology of events further assist the serious researcher.

The introduction to *The United Nations and Apartheid* solves the formidable problem of tracing a complex subject through nearly 50 years by means of a thematic chronology in three chapters. "United Nations consideration of apartheid, 1948-1966" is followed by the "International campaign against apartheid, 1967-1989" and "Towards a non-racial democratic Government, 1990-1994". In 1946, the first General Assembly unanimously adopted Resolution 103 (I) which declared "it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial persecution and discrimination". Governments and responsible authorities were called on "to take the most prompt and energetic steps to that end". As this volume helps demonstrate, much UN effort over the past 50 years has gone into that process.

The United Nations and Cambodia focuses on the period from the Paris Agreement through the elections and the formation of the new Government. "In seeking a resolution to Cambodia's long-standing political conflict", the book begins, the UN's involvement "represents an unparalleled international diplomatic effort. Massive in size, comprehensive in scope and precise in its mandate, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) sets a new standard for peace-keeping operations undertaken by the international community." As the book notes, the outcomes of "any unprecedented endeavour" such as UNTAC "deserve careful scrutiny".

Coming volumes in the Blue Books Series include surveys of UN efforts on behalf of human rights, nuclear non-proliferation, El Salvador and Mozambique.

History of the United Nations University: A Personal Perspective

C. V. Narasimhan
The United Nations University
United Nations University Press, Tokyo, 1994
162 pp. $25. UNUP-837 ISBN 92-808-0837-0

Writing the history of a UN institution such as the United Nations University (UNU) presents challenging difficulties. The breadth of its activities and the number of people involved can overwhelm the researcher seeking the key ideas and events in the organization's evolution. If the archives are open for study, they may not document the decision-making process behind closed doors. But C. V. Narasimhan, who served the UN from 1956 to 1978, was there at the University's beginning. As UN Under-Secretary-General and the Secretary-General's representative on the University Council during its first four years, he helped create UNU. Proposals had been made to found an international university in association with the League of Nations and later with UNESCO. In his 1969 Annual Report, Secretary-General U Thant called for establishing a university devoted to furthering the objectives of the UN Charter. Mr. Narasimhan traces the process by which UNU came into being, developed research programmes and a press to publish findings, and formed a network of "global classrooms" through research and training centres in a number of countries. This study of the 20-year-old University is a valuable addition to the small number of books about UN history written by those who participated in the events.

Family Favourites: Recipes and Reminiscences from Around the World

Edited by Christina Quijano-Caballero
Secretariat for the International Year of the Family
NGO Committee on the Family, Vienna, 1994
152 pp. $21.95. ISBN 3-9500379-0-x

Recipes from 51 countries with brief anecdotes and photographs of individuals and families who contributed them comprise the heart of this colourful cookbook for the International Year of the Family. From Argentina's *carbonada especial* to Zimbabwe's *rapoko sadza*, the recipes confirm one of the book's themes: "Food not only keeps the family alive, it also underpins its faith." That this is especially true in difficult situations is suggested by a recipe from UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata for a nourishing lentil curry prepared in the refugee camps of Asia.

Reviewed by Professor Harold Fruchtbaum
Columbia University, New York

NEWS ALMANAC

Search for Cyprus solution pursued

The Security Council on 21 December welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to continue contacts with the leaders of the two Cypriot communities to make every effort to find common ground for a resumption of direct talks. It also reaffirmed the importance of early progress on the substance of the Cyprus question and on the implementation of confidence-building measures. On 29 October, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/1994/1229)* that the two leaders had begun a series of informal consultations with his Deputy Special Representative, Gustave Feissel. They were exploring concrete ways in which progress might be made in the implementation of the package of confidence-building measures and in the overall settlement of the problem. The Council, in adopting resolution 969 (1994), also extended the mandate of the UN Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further period of six months, ending 30 June 1995, asking that the structure and strength of the Force be reviewed, with a view to its possible restructuring.

Human rights 'presence' established in Cambodia

The UN Centre for Human Rights established an "operational presence" in Phnom Penh in October 1993 in order to: assist the Government of Cambodia to meet its obligations under the human rights instruments it has adhered to; provide support for bona fide human rights groups; and contribute to the creation and/or strengthening of national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights. Also in a report *(A/49/635)* dated 3 November 1994 on the human rights situation in the country, the Secretary-General stated that the resumption of fighting in several provinces with the Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK) and conflicts within the two main parties of the coalition Government and between them and King Norodom Sihanouk had led to increased political instability and a related deterioration of the security situation.

Libyan sanctions stay in place

The Security Council, after informal consultations on 30 November, concluded that there was no agreement that the necessary conditions existed for modification of the sanctions imposed on Libya by Council resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993). The sanctions are reviewed every four months. An air and arms embargo was imposed against Libya by resolution 748 of 31 March 1992, after France, the United Kingdom and the United States complained that Libya had failed to respond effectively to requests for full cooperation in establishing responsibility for the terrorist bombings that had taken place in 1988 and 1989. By resolution 883 of 11 November 1993, Libyan funds in foreign countries were frozen and the import to Libya of oil-related equipment banned.

UN Photo 188868

World AIDS Day was observed at Headquarters on 1 December.

Security Council proposals discussed

The Security Council will meet more often in open sessions in an effort to improve the flow of information and the exchange of ideas between its members and other UN Member States. Council President Manzi Bakuramutsa of Rwanda reported on 16 December. In a presidential statement, he explained that Council members wished to respond to the widespread support for greater recourse to open meetings. The statement was issued following debate on France's proposal that the Council meet in public for "orientation debates" in which all UN Member States could participate, and for public exchanges of views between Council members. Several representatives said that greater transparency in the Council's work and expanded participation by non-members would enhance its credibility and assure greater compliance with its mandates. Speakers also called for the participation of parties to conflicts in private Council consultations concerning those conflicts. Various suggestions for expanding the Council's membership were made during the General Assembly's debate on 13 and 14 October. The Russian Federation supported a limited enlargement up to 20 members and preservation of the status of permanent members. The United Kingdom said any enlargement should be limited to 19 or 20 members, so that the Council's effectiveness would not be jeopardized.

ICAO celebrates 50th anniversary

The Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) has issued a Declaration in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the signing on 7 December 1944 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation on 7 December 1994 in Chicago. The document states that during the past half century, the ICAO "successfully fulfilled the responsibilities assigned to it by the Convention to meet the needs of the people of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economic air transport", and "continues to discharge its duties as the world standard-setting body for international civil aviation".

50th Anniversary plans proceed

Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali has invited all heads of State or Government that are UN Members and Observer States to attend a solemn session of the General Assembly from 22 to 24 October 1995, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. More than 50 have already accepted. A group of eminent persons from 19 countries have been asked, in connection with the anniversary year, to help project a more balanced picture of the UN and its activities.

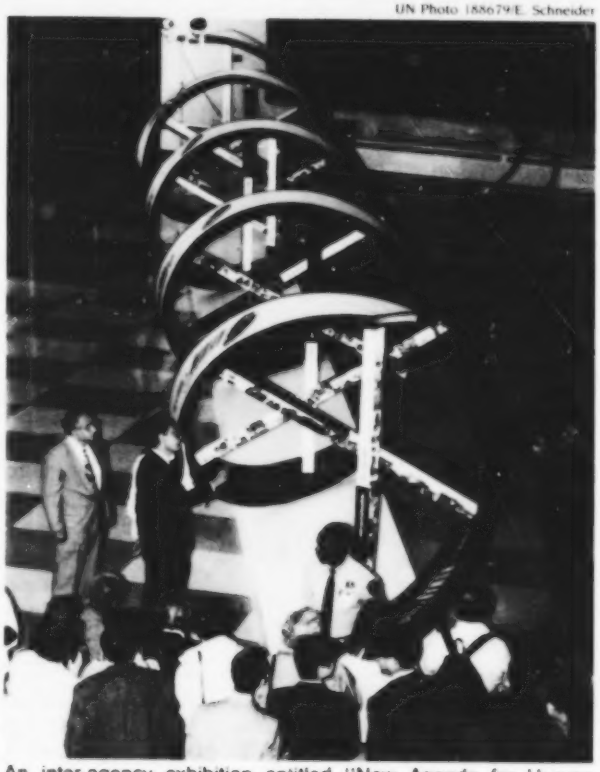
At the second meeting in Marrakesh, Morocco, on 29 November of the Advisory Group for the fiftieth Anniversary, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said that each UN Member State should use the anniversary "to reaffirm its enduring faith in the values" on which the Organization was based.

Events to celebrate the anniversary will be held all over the world, including at UN Headquarters in New York, Geneva and Vienna. The city of San Francisco has planned a week of activities in June 1995, including the signing of a commemorative document on the UN Charter. The Cable News Network (CNN) is to provide in-depth and on-the-spot coverage of events.

Financial crisis a 'political question'

"The United Nations works miracles with what Member States do not pay it, but it simply cannot keep running on exhausted credit", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the General Assembly on 12 October. Stressing the need to ensure a viable financial base for the Organization, the Secretary-General said that at the end of August 1994, UN debts exceeded $1.7 billion. The Secretary-General asked the Assembly to consider urgently the questions of delayed payments and the problem of inadequate reserves. "This is no longer simply a financial question, it is an urgent political question", he said.

UN Photo 188679/E. Schneider



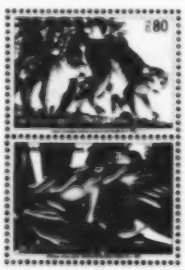
An inter-agency exhibition entitled "New Agenda for Human Development" opened at Headquarters in October. Its design is based on the double helix of DNA.

Nuclear agreement between DPRK, US welcomed

The Security Council on 4 November noted with satisfaction the 21 October Agreed Framework between the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), by which the latter agreed to remain a party to the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). It also noted DPRK's decision to come into full compliance with its Safeguards Agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) under the Treaty. The pact brought to an end a crisis during which the Democratic Republic withdrew from the IAEA on 13 June, stating that it considered IAEA actions on the issue of nuclear inspections "unreasonable" and that it would not be "bound" by the Agency's rules. The IAEA had maintained that the validity of its safeguards agreement with the DPRK pursuant to the NPT was not affected by that country's withdrawal from the IAEA. The Agreed Framework was concluded after lengthy negotiations, during which the United States suggested considering UN sanctions against the DPRK for refusing nuclear inspections. The General Assembly, by resolution 49/65, on 15 December urged the DPRK to cooperate immediately with the IAEA in full implementation of the Safeguards Agreement and to allow the Agency to have access to all safeguards-relevant information and locations. The DPRK, the only country voting against the text, called it "an insidious political offensive".

STAMP CORNER

Three colourful stamp issues are on deck in early 1995 through the UN Postal Administration (UNPA). On 3 February, a set of three stamps and a souvenir card to commemorate the World Summit for Social Development was issued. Artwork was created by Friedensreich Hundertwasser of Austria. On 24 March, the third set in a multi-year series on "Endangered Species" is to be issued, featuring, among other animals, the giant panda, the giant armadillo, Zetek's frog, the wood bison, the black rhinoceros and the Arabian oryx. On 26 May, UNPA will issue a set of stamps and souvenir card on the theme "Youth: Our Future" to commemorate the 10th anniversary of International Youth Year.



COMING UP

A preview of some important UN conferences and events

April–June 1995

New York

3-13 April	Ad Hoc Committee on the Draft Statute of an International Criminal Court
10 April-5 May	Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and its Working Group, substantive session
17 April-12 May	1995 Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
1-12 May	Committee on Information, 17th session
15-19 May	Meeting of States Parties to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
15 May-9 June	Disarmament Commission
22 May	Meeting of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, special session
19-23 June	Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters

Geneva

24 April-5 May	Committee against Torture, 14th session
24 April-7 May	Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories
1-19 May	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 12th session
1 May-21 July	International Law Commission, 47th session
22 May-9 June	Committee on the Rights of the Child, 9th session
29-31 May	International Meeting on Assistance in Mine Clearance
29 May-7 July	Conference on Disarmament, second part
30 May-21 June	WMO—Congress, 12th session
6-23 June	ILO—General Conference, 82nd session

Vienna

2-26 May	UN Commission on International Trade Law, 28th session
8-19 May	International Narcotics Control Board, 58th session
30 May-9 June	Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, 4th session
12-23 June	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, 38th session

Other locations

24 April-1 May	ESCAP, 51st session, Bangkok
25 April-1 May	Commission on Human Settlements, 15th session, Nairobi
1-10 May	Ninth UN Congress for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Cairo

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Membership of Principal United Nations Organs in 1995

General Assembly

The General Assembly is composed of all 185 United Nations Member States:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, *Argentina, Armenia, *Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, *Belarus, *Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, *Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, *Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, *Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, *Chile, *China, *Colombia, Comoros, Congo, *Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, *Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, *Dominican Republic, *Ecuador, *Egypt, *El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Estonia, *Ethiopia, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Finland, *France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, *Greece, Grenada, *Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, *Haiti, *Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, *India, Indonesia, *Iran, *Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, *Lebanon, Lesotho, *Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, *Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, *Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, *Netherlands, *New Zealand, *Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, *Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Palau, *Panama, Papua New Guinea, *Paraguay, *Peru, *Philippines, *Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, *Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Somalia, *South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, *Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Thailand, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, *Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, *Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, *United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, *United States, *Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, *Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, *Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Founding Member

Security Council

The Security Council has 15 members. The UN Charter has designated five States as permanent members, and the General Assembly elects 10 other members for two-year terms. The term of office of each non-permanent member of the Council ends on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The five permanent members are: China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States.

The 10 non-permanent members in 1995 are: Argentina (1995), Botswana (1996), Czech Republic (1995), Germany (1996), Honduras (1996), Indonesia (1996), Italy (1996), Nigeria (1995), Oman (1995) and Rwanda (1995).

Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council has 54 members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly. The term of office for each member expires on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below. In 1995, the Council is composed of the following 54 States:

Australia (1997), Bahamas (1995), Belarus (1997), Bhutan (1995), Brazil (1997), Bulgaria (1996), Canada (1995), Chile (1996), China (1995), Colombia (1997), Congo (1997), Costa Rica (1996), Côte d'Ivoire (1997), Cuba (1995), Denmark (1995), Egypt (1996), France (1996), Gabon (1995), Germany (1996), Ghana (1996), Greece (1996), India (1994), Indonesia (1996), Ireland (1996), Jamaica (1997), Japan (1996), Libya (1995), Luxembourg (1997), Malaysia (1997), Mexico (1995), Netherlands (1997), Nigeria (1995), Norway (1995), Pakistan (1996), Paraguay (1996), Philippines (1997), Poland (1997), Portugal (1996), Republic of Korea (1995), Romania (1995), Russian Federation (1995), Senegal (1996), South Africa (1997), Sri Lanka (1995), Sudan (1997), Thailand (1997), Uganda (1997), Ukraine (1995), United Kingdom (1995), United Republic of Tanzania (1996), United States (1997), Venezuela (1996), Zaire (1995), Zimbabwe (1996).

Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council has five members—China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States—which are also the five permanent members of the Security Council. (On 1 November 1994, the Trusteeship Council had formally suspended operations.)

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice has 15 members, elected by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Judges hold nine-year terms, which end on 5 February of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The Judges, listed in their official order of precedence, are:

Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria (1997), Stephen M. Schwebel of the United States (1997), Shigeru Oda of Japan (1994), Roberto Ago of Italy (1997), Sir Robert Yewdall Jennings of the United Kingdom (2000), Nikolai K. Tarassov of the Russian Federation (1997), Gilbert Guillaume of France (2000), Mohamed Shahabuddeen of Guyana (1997), Andrés Aguilar Mawdsley of Venezuela (2000), Christopher G. Weeramantry of Sri Lanka (2000), Raymond Ranjeva of Madagascar (2000), Géza Herczegh of Hungary (2003), Shi Jiuyong of China (1994), Carl-August Fleischhauer of Germany (2003), Abdul G. Koroma of Sierra Leone (2003).

INSIDE:
49th General Assembly Round-up

NEXT ISSUE:
Preview Fourth UN Women's Conference

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